

Federal Bureau of Investigation

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION



MIRA

(Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement)

SJ 105-12315

VOLUME 7

PAGES REVIEWED: 180

PAGES RELEASED: 174

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Requester: Collingwood

Subject: Puerto Rican Independence Movement - MEPA

Computer or Case Identification Number: Administrative

Title of Case:

* File: San Juan - 105-12315

Section: 7

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Vol 7

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Memorandum



To : SAC, SAN JUAN

Date

4/25/95

From : FOIPA SECTION (190-SJ-)

Subject: FREEDOM OF INFORMATION - PRIVACY ACTS (FOIPA)
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE SAN JUAN	OFFICE OF ORIGIN SAN JUAN	DATE FEB 9 1971	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 1/8 - 1/26/71
TITLE OF CASE MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MIRA)		REPORT MADE BY ROBERT J. HEIBEL	TYPED BY gcb
		CHARACTER OF CASE IS - PRN	

REFERENCES:

San Juan report of SA ROBERT J. HEIBEL, 4/17/70
 San Juan airtel and LHM to Bureau, 11/12/70

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
 WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

- P -

7/11/00
 CLASSIFIED BY NLS/BTA 60267 AAG
 DECLASSIFY ON: E.O. 11652 (U)

NEW YORK

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 1. Will continue to follow
 and report the activities of MIRA in the New York Division.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED				<input type="checkbox"/> NONE	ACQUIT- TALS	CASE HAS BEEN: PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
CONVICTIONS	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE					DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
9 - Bureau (105-202663) (RM) (SEE COVER PAGE B FOR ADDITIONAL COPIES) <i>1 copy Portu...</i> New York (RM) San Francisco (157-BPP) (Info) (RM) San Juan (105-12315) <i>some photo missing</i>					105 12315 602 SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED Heibel Hey handle X	
Dissemination Record of Attached Report					Notations	
Agency						
Reques. Recd.						
Date Fwd.						
How Fwd.						

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SJ 105-12315

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LEADS: (contd.)

- 2. Furnish SJO with New York telephone numbers MIRA members and affiliates.

SAN JUAN

AT SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO.

b2. b7D

Will continue to follow and report MIRA activities.

INFORMANTS:

<u>Entity</u>	<u>Location</u>
T-1 is [REDACTED]	[REDACTED] (Used to Characterize GLADYS JIMENEZ DE TORRES)
SJ T-2 is [REDACTED]	Instant Report SJ 105-12315-118 (Used to Characterize JUAN GALLOZA CARRERO)
SJ T-3 is [REDACTED]	[REDACTED] SJ 105-12315-249 (Used to Characterize JUAN A. CASTILLO AYALA, CARLOS FELICIANO VASQUEZ, and PEDRO JACA LA FONTAINE)
SJ T-4 is [REDACTED]	SJ 105-12315-190 (Used to Characterize WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS)

SJ 105-12315

SJ T-5 is [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] Office of In-
telligence, Police of
Puerto Rico (per request)

Instant Report

SJ T-6 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Puerto
Nuevo, Puerto Rico (per
request)

Instant report

SJ T-7 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize JUAN A. CASTILLO
AYALA, MIGUEL CASTILLO VEGA, ANTONIO
HERRERA MORENO, and WILLIAM PINTADO
BURGOS)

SJ T-8 is [REDACTED]

b7C [REDACTED] Special Services Divi-
sion, NYCPD (per request)

Instant Report

SJ T-9 is Former [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize FEDERICO
ACEVEDO SANTIAGO)

SJ T-10 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize FEDERICO
ACEVEDO SANTIAGO and ROBERTO
TODD PAGAN)

SJ T-11 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
FEDERICO ACEVEDO SANTIAGO and
AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO)

SJ T-12 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize FEDERICO
ACEVEDO SANTIAGO and ROBERTO TODD
PAGAN)

SJ T-13 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize JUAN ANTONIO
CASTILLO AYALA, and MIGUEL A. CASTILLO
VEGA)

b2.b7D

SJ 105-12315

SJ T-14 is [REDACTED]

Instant report
(Used to Characterize
SANTOS COLON)

SJ T-15 is [REDACTED]

Instant report
(Used to Characterize FELIX
RAUL CRUZ DIAZ)

SJ T-16 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize CARLOS
FELICIANO VASQUEZ)

SJ T-17 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize PEDRO JACA
LA FONTAINE)

SJ T-18 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize PEDRO JACA)

SJ T-19 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
SATURNINO LABOY MEDINA)

SJ T-20 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
SATURNINO LABOY MEDINA)

SJ T-21 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
SATURNINO LABOY MEDINA)

SJ T-22 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS)

SJ T-23 is [REDACTED]

b7C

[REDACTED] (Deemed advisable)

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS)

b2.b7D.b7C

SJ 105-12315

SJ T-24 is [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Former PSI

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS)

SJ T-25 is Former [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS)

SJ T-26 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
CESAR RIVERA)

SJ T-27 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Former
PSI - UD

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA)

SJ T-28 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA)

SJ T-29 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA)

SJ T-30

[REDACTED] ^{b1} (c) [REDACTED] (c) b1
(Used to Characterize
[REDACTED]
and ROBERTO TODD PAGAN)

SJ T-31

[REDACTED] ^{b1} (c) [REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA)

SJ T-32 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
JUAN TORRES ALONSO)

SJ T-33 is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(Used to Characterize
FERDINAND TORRES TORRES)

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SJ T-34 is [REDACTED]

SJ 105-12315-335

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The investigative period of this report reflects the dates of file review and not those of field investigation.

An information copy of this report is furnished to the San Francisco Office in view of apparent MIRA interest in the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The following persons mentioned in this report as members and affiliates of MIRA [REDACTED]

Name

FEDERICO ACEVEDO SANTIAGO
JUAN ANTONIO CASTILLO AYALA
MIGUEL ANGEL CASTILLO VEGA
FELIX RAUL CRUZ DIAZ
CARLOS FELICIANO VASQUEZ
CARLOS FONSECA ORTA
AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO
ANTONIO HERRERA MORENO
PEDRO JACA LA FONTAINE
SATURNINO LABOY MEDINA
FELIBERTO OJEDA RIOS
WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS
MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA

[REDACTED]

b7C

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b7C

SJ 105-12315

JOSE SERRANO LOPEZ

[REDACTED]

ROBERTO TODD PAGAN

[REDACTED]

JUAN TORRES ALONSO

[REDACTED]

The Bureau is aware of the identities of FERDINAND TORRES TORRES and SANTOS COLON.

The San Juan and New York offices are currently [REDACTED] in this report and a suitable communication setting forth results will be submitted to the Bureau.

Translations of documents utilized in this report were made by Correlator Translator CARMEN R. ORRACA and SA DIADER ROSARIO.

b2
b7D

This report is classified "Secret - No Foreign Dissemination" to protect [REDACTED] a sensitive source of lasting value, the revelation of whom would have an adverse effect on the national defense interest.

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G*

Cover Page

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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 1 - 771st MI-Det., SJ (By Hand)
 1 - Secret Service, SJ (By Hand)
 1 - OSI, Ramey A.F.B. (RM)

Report of:

ROBERT J. HEIBEL

Office: San Juan, Puerto Rico

Date:

FEB 9 1971

Field Office File #:

105-12315

Bureau File #: 105-202663

Title:

MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS
 (ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)
 (MIRA)

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - PUERTO RICAN NATIONALIST

Synopsis:

Aims of MIRA continue to be a Communist takeover of Puerto Rico through "armed struggle." MIRA National Directorate as of 10/10/70, consisted of FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, ROBERTO RODRIGUEZ, UNSUB aka "BENJAMIN, MITIA," while AVELINO GONZALEZ functions as leader of New York cells. Membership limited at 30-40, and broken down into militants and supporters. Activity took place within the ND in 10/70, regarding letter in the name of ND, MIRA, sent to Cuban Communist Party (CCP), which requested CCP to arrange travel of MIRA fugitives to Cuba, requested firearms, assistance of MINREX of GOC to prepare propaganda and requested a meeting with GOC officials. MIRA continues to use courier system for communication and assign codenames to members. NYC MIRA member, CARLOS DOMESTICANO VASQUEZ arrested by NYCPD on 5/16/70, while placing bomb in U.S. Army Induction Center, NYC. MIRA claims bombing of FAA facilities, Rio Grande, PR, on 7/19/70, and five SSS offices in southern Puerto Rico, on 7/30/70, resulting in over

7/11/00

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67D
\$1,000 damages. FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS was arrested on 10/10/70
by PPR and FBI near Quebradillas, Puerto Rico, with documents
regarding MIRA, including instructions of bomb-incendiary
device preparation and firearms. OJEDA RIOS was released on
\$12,000 bond on 10/17/70, and thereafter disappeared. Siezed
documents indicate MIRA in poor financial condition. [REDACTED]

- P -

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SJ 105-12315

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. AIMS AND PRINCIPLES	9
II. MEMBERSHIP	10
A. Leadership	10
B. General Membership	10
C. Dissension and Internal Deficiencies	15
III. ACTIVITIES	49
A. Plans and Actions	49
B. Firearms, Equipment, Material, and Preparation of Explosive-Incendiary Devices	60 60
C. Communications	74
D. Clandestine Hideouts	79
E. Security and Collection of Intelligence Regarding Law Enforcement Agencies	81
F. Labor Movement	93
IV. FINANCES	97
V. PROPAGANDA	98
VI. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS	101
A. MIRA's View of Other Puerto Rican Pro Independence Organizations	101
B. The Black Panther Party	103
C. The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico	103
D. The Young Lords	104

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

VII.	AFFILIATION WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM	105
VIII.	MISCELLANEOUS	113
	A. Arrest of MIRA Members	113
	B. Federal Prosecution of MIRA Members	115
	C. Results of FBI Laboratory Examination	116
	D. Travel	139
IX.	APPENDIX	140
	A. Section I (Individuals)	140
	ACEVEDO SANTIAGO, FEDERICO	140
	CASTILLO AYALA, JUAN ANTONIO	142
	CASTILLO VEGA, MIGUEL ANGEL	143
	COLON, SANTOS	145
	CRUZ DIAZ, FELIX RAUL	145
	FELICIANO VASQUEZ, CARLOS	146
	FONSECA ORTA, CARLOS	147
	GALLOZA CARRERO, JUAN	148
	GONZALEZ CLAUDIO, AVELINO	148
	HERRERA MORENO, ANTONIO	149
	JACA LA FONTAINE, PEDRO	150
	JIMENEZ DE TORRO, GLADYS	162
	LABOY MEDINA, SATURNINO	151
	NOYA HERRERO, JOSE	152

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

OJEDA RIOS, FILIBERTO	153
PINTADO BURGOS, WILLIAM	154
RAMIREZ DE FONSECA, ADELINA	156
RIVERA, CESAR	156
SANCHEZ OLMEDA, MARTA	156
SERRANO LOPEZ, JOSE	158
TODD PAGAN, ROBERTO	158
TORRES ALONSO, JUAN	160
TORRES TORRES, FERDINAND	160
B. Section II (Organizations)	162
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)	163
COMANDOS ARMADOS DE LIBERACION (ARMED COMMANDOS OF LIBERATION) (CAL)	164
CRUZADA PATRIOTICA CRISTIANA (PATRIOTIC CHRISTIAN CRUSADE) (CPC)	165
FEDERACION ESTUDIANTIL PRO INDEPENDENCIA (FEDERATION OF STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE) (FEPI)	166
FEDERACION UNIVERSITARIO PRO INDEPENDENCIA (FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE) (FUPI)	167
GRITO DE LARES	168

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5

SJ 105-12315

LIGA SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENA (PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE) (LSP)	169
MOVIMIENTO PRO INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO (PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR)	170
MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MIRA)	171
PARTIDO INDEPENDENTISTA PUERTORRIQUENO (PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY) (PIP)	172
• PARTIDO SOCIALISTA OBRERO (SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY) (PSO)	173
PLEBISCITE	174
YOUNG LORDS PARTY	175

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SS 105-12315

DETAILS:

Characterizations of all individuals and/or organizations mentioned herein, unless otherwise noted, are contained in Sections I and II of the Appendix of this report.

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On October 8, 1970, [REDACTED] Office of Intelligence, Police of Puerto Rico (OI, POPR), advised Special Agent (SA) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) that an individual strongly resembling local and federal fugitive Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario en Armas (Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement) (MIRA) leader FELIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, had been observed in Barrio Las Charcas near Quebradillas, Puerto Rico. An FBI composite photograph of OJEDA RIOS was made available to [REDACTED] who stated that an attempt would be made by his office to determine if, in fact, the observed individual was OJEDA RIOS.

On October 9, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that it appeared certain that the individual observed in Barrio Las Charcas was OJEDA RIOS and it had been determined that he was hiding at the residence of SATURNINO LABOY MEDINA.

At approximately 2:30 p.m., on October 9, 1970, seven agents of the OI, POPR, and two SAs of the FBI were transported by Puerto Rican National Guard helicopter to the vicinity of Quebradillas, Puerto Rico. This mode of transportation was necessary due to extensive flooding which had destroyed numerous bridges and washed out many roads in the area of Quebradillas.

On October 10, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that it had been determined that OJEDA RIOS was at the home of [REDACTED]. On that date, at 2:30 p.m., a raiding party consisting of nine agents of the OI, POPR, and two SAs of the FBI, concealed in a panel truck, entered Barrio Las Charcas. This barrio is located in a valley deep in the mountains in the northwestern part of the Island and may only be reached by travelling approximately three miles on an extremely narrow mountain road. Complete surprise was achieved by the raiding party and OJEDA RIOS was seized by an

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SJ 105-12315

SA of the FBI as he attempted to flee from the rear of the home of [REDACTED]

At the time of OJEDA RIOS' apprehension, Agent [REDACTED] OI, POPR, seized a black overnight bag belonging to OJEDA RIOS. Contained therein were a loaded .38 special Rohm revolver, 68 rounds of .38 special ammunition, assorted cosmetic makeup, personal toilet items, and numerous Spanish language documents dealing with MIRA.

The bulk of the details of this report is made up of facts contained in those documents seized by [REDACTED] on October 10, 1970.

On October 11, 1970, [REDACTED] OI, POPR, advised in his opinion that in these documents, ROBERTO TODD PAGAN utilized the code name "ARCADIO."

On January 11, 1971, the FBI Laboratory advised that certain documents seized on October 10, 1970 [REDACTED]

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SJ 105-12315

I. AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

In a notebook seized on October 10, 1970, dated June, 1970, FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS states the following:

"We fight for Communism. As far as long term strategy is concerned, it is clearly defined. It is 'take over by the people.' Our tactical strategy has been decided also: 'Armed Struggle.'"

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SJ 105-12315

II. MEMBERSHIP

A. Leadership

As of February 23, 1970, the National Directorate (ND) of MIRA was comprised of ROBERTO TODD PAGAN, FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS, and an unknown individual whose code name was "DEMETRIO."

SJ T-1 on
December 1, 1970

67D In early July, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], stated that the code name of AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO was "CARMELO," and that he was the leader of MIRA in New York City.

SJ T-2 on
July 10, 1970

The NPPR has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Documents seized on October 10, 1970, indicate that the ND of MIRA consists of FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, ROBERTO TODD PAGAN, and an individual with the code names "BENJAMIN" and "MIRIA." Also, that AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO, code name "CARMELO" continues to be the leader of MIRA in New York City.

B. General Membership

As of March, 1970, there were three levels of affiliation within MIRA: the militants, the member-supporters, and the non-member supporters. Affiliation at that time was approximately 35-40 persons, of whom one half had gained entrance as militants by participating in some type of bombing mission. The following individuals were MIRA members and had indicated code names as of March, 1970:

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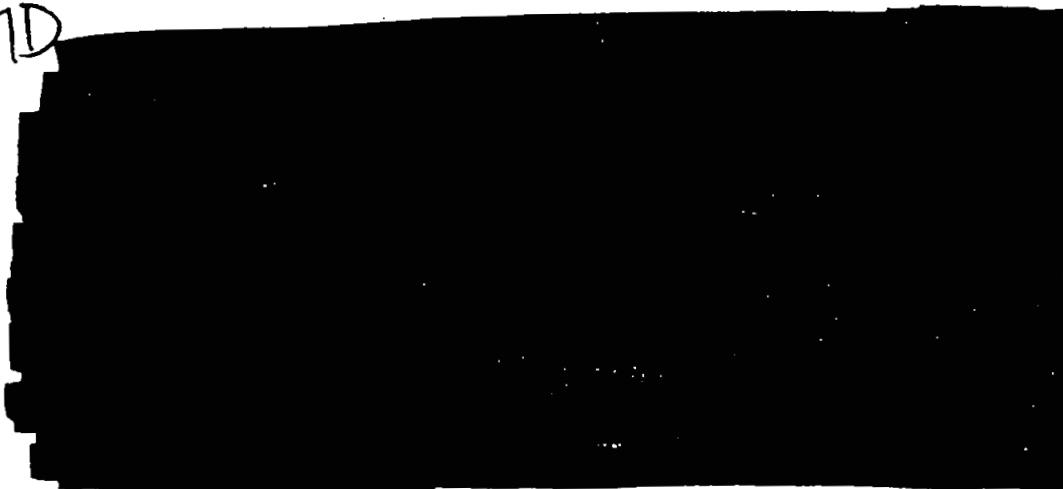
ROBERTO TODD PAGAN - "HUGO"
FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS - "RUBEN," "AUGUSTIN"
FELIX RAUL CRUZ DIAZ - "JOAQUIN"
FERDINAND ORKES TORRES - "JUANITO"
GLADYS JIMENEZ DE TORRES - "GLORIA"
FEDERICO ACEVEDO SANTIAGO - "GILBERTO"
ADELINA RAMIREZ DE FONSECA - "ESPOSA"
CARLOS FONSECA ORTA - "CARLOS"
WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS - "PEPITO"
JUAN CASTILLO AYALA - "FELIPE"
AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO - "CARMELO"
MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA - name not known

SJ T-1 on
December 1 and 17, 1970

67D
[REDACTED] the arrest of MIRA
after CARLOS FELICIANO VASQUEZ by the New York City Police
Department (NYCPD) on May 16, 1970, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SJ 105-12315

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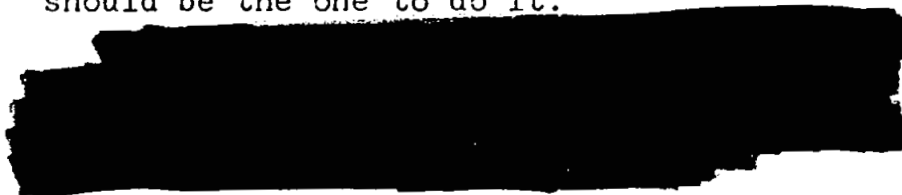
b7C
Supra

June 30, 1970

In a letter seized on October 10, 1970, dated September 29, 1970, "ARCADIO" states:

"#4. Believe Comrade 'CARLOS should be the one to go to ROQUE's house based on the fact that he has been the one that has worked most closely with that comrade. I would have to start from scratch with him since I hardly know him. It is most logical that Comrade CARLOS should continue that work, even though we had considered that I should be the one to do it."

b7C



In a letter seized on October 10, 1970, dated September 30, 1970, "ARCADIO" advised Comrade BENJAMIN in part as follows:

SJ 105-12315

"Last night, I destroyed both letters you had sent me and that I answered. But before I burned them, I read them again. I saw a point which I had not noticed before, in which you informed me that Comrade CARLOS is preparing to depart for 'Q...'

"In my last letters that I sent with MARCOS, I told you that CARLOS should substitute for me in the trip to ROQUE's house. I said this without knowing that he was planning a trip to the other side. I thought he would spend some time at ROLANDO's without going anywhere. Obviously after noticing this important point, I retract my position. I think CARLOS would have more problems going there than I, since I could go straight from SANDRA's (which is near there.).

"In any case, let comrade CARLOS be the one to decide since he knows better than I how much time he has left.

"On my part, I foresee no problem in going to ROQUE's house, only that Comrade CARLOS would have to send me some information about that comrade, that area, etc. Nothing extensive, just general ideas about his experience with that comrade and the agreements already made with his brother-in-law. Frankly, I have completely forgotten those details. I hope arrangements have already been made with MARCOS to go to ROQUE's so that we may tell him. If not, let me know to arrange a meeting."

Included in OJEDA RIOS' notebook seized on October 10, 1970, were seven pages in his handwriting which contained enciphered notations and the following:

"PEDRO - for him - Thursday - 4 and 5 August
First Thursday"

8. 105-12315

"PEDRO - First Thursday of August -
rest - 11 pm
PEDRO Emergency:
Friday, Saturday, and Sunday
3 pm W.J. and corner P -
Sister after actions"

"Attorney CESAR RIVERA - in front
of Government Center - C.S. ANA's husband
who wants a divorce - ask WILLIAM"

C.S. is believed to mean countersign.

"ENIO (or ENID) - [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] - Ana's brother at 2 -
Studies pharmacy - \$ -
Gate towards garage."

"HECTOR - C.S. ANA's brother - PIP
Medical matters - ask EFRAIN - [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

PIP are the initials of the Partido
Independentista Puertorriqueno
(Puerto Rican Independence Party).

"Deeply involved JOSE NOYA - write saying date
and time of trip to Spain - R.P. Post Office -
Calle De Diego - C.S. ANA's friend -
\$ - form"

"#7
RIVERA CESAR, Lawyer"

[REDACTED]
San Antonio, Carolina
65th Infantry - in front of Bargain T
House has Puerto Rican Flag"

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C. Dissent and Internal Divisions

JOSE A. SERRANO claimed to have been associated with MIRA in New York City, but stated that he found it difficult to work with the leader in New York City, a person whom he described as an "egotist and Maoist."

SJ T-3 on
May 22, 1970

The notebook of OJEDA RIOS seized on October 10, 1970 contains a section in his handwriting entitled"

"IV - Analysis of Our Internal Deficiencies.

"This part has been divided in four subjects. The consolidation and progress of our organization depends on the solution given to each one of these subjects.

"(1) Maximum utilization of the intellectual and practical capacity of each cell; cells to be located in accordance with its capabilities of revolutionary work.

"Up to this moment, we have not been properly using companions who have the capacity of undertaking important and significant tasks for the development of this struggle.

"This error was not made voluntarily, but was caused by a deficient system of communications and the insecurity which involves our clandestine activities.

"Although our cells must overcome a long series of intellectual and ideological deficiencies, they possess very positive qualities. Qualities that are of utmost value in this struggle: conscience, courage, sacrifice, and excellence.

"These cells are actually capable of doing recruitment work. They know the right kind of people, who

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SJ 105-12315

in their opinion, would be willing to support our organization.

"One or two persons have been in charge of the recruitment and organizative work. The services of all other members have been waiting for the solution given to the problems. It is necessary that this situation be corrected by utilizing to the maximum the capacity of the cells.

"(2) Analysis of Logistical Needs

"A major problem has been the fact that we have failed to solve in advance our basic logistical needs.

"Many times we have to move from one place to another and we have difficulties with the transportation, etc. We must make an effort to determine our logistical needs and then find a solution for the problem. If necessary, we must use all our resources to do it.

"Personally, I believe that we must solve the following logistical needs:

- "(1) Transportation (automobiles, motorcycles, jeeps, buses, etc.)
- (2) Arms and explosives
- (3) Urban and rural hideouts
- (4) Supplies

"These are our basic logistical needs, the solution of which will guarantee the continuity of our struggle.

"(3) Development of our Specialized Propaganda Network

The political-ideological task is one of the fun-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 16

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

damental pillars for the attainment of our national liberation. Only developing to the maximum capacity the political-ideological work can we raise the level of the people's conscience. We must get the people to understand the political contents of our actions, because that is the only way to obtain their support.

"Only specialized cells should be completely devoted to the accomplishment of this task. The intellectual level of the cell assigned this task must be quite developed.

"Once the propaganda network is functioning in an efficient manner, the official magazine of the organization would be published. Editorials and other important articles will be written by members of the national directorate. On the other hand, any militant with writing ability would have the opportunity to write for the magazine.

"(4) Improvement of the Communication System between Members of the National Directorate.

"As we have explained before, many of our problems have resulted from a deficient organization which is evident in the communication system between the national leaders in our organization.

"One of the worst situations that active revolutionaries may encounter is being incommunicados among themselves.

"On the other hand, it is a fact that our clandestine operations, the lack of transportation and other material problems, make periodic personal communication very difficult. Nevertheless, in lieu of personal contacts, we must send periodic reports of the development of our activities.

"All reading material concerning the actual struggle must reach all members of the National Directorate

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

for analysis and conclusions at the earliest date.

"We should study the ways to solve the problems of personal communication between ourselves as an urgent matter."

Seized on October 10, 1970, were a series of letters which state as follows:

A | "September 5, 1970

"Comrades:

"One of the basic assumptions that lays the foundation for the democratic way in which MIRA carries out its activities has been, and is, the fundamental respect of the procedures that characterize a collective management. The concept of a collective management as a method of deliberation and decision, first in recognition of the merits of a method whose basic premise states that various individuals working together, can better approach the truth than one individual that cannot come face to face with the dialectics of the discussion or the censure of the group. The second reason sprouts from the objective reality of our present situation: that up until this moment there has not arisen in MIRA or in the national struggle one capable of assuming powers of major importance. Considering the immense limitations to which we, the comrades that have assumed the responsibilities for the activities of MIRA, are subjected to, the only possibility left for carrying out these activities with a minimum of error and a better understanding of the correct ways is to be consistent in the principles of the collective directive.

"Among other things, the collective management implies mutual respect, constant consultation, perpetual criticism, and above all, the inviolability of the procedures already agreed upon.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

55 105-12315

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"These premises--axiomatic to the concept of collective management--have been arbitrarily violated in our organization. This situation leaves me no other alternative but to energetically censure the comrades of the National Directorate who-to a lesser or greater degree-have been responsible for this situation. Let us look at the facts:

"In the early morning hours of yesterday, September 4, I was confronted with a consummated act: I was presented with a copy of a document written by comrade CARLOS, signed by the National Directorate, and addressed to the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party. I was informed that the same had already been sent through Comrade ROSA, thus making its delivery impossible to stop.

"In the second paragraph of the document in question were enumerated the objectives of the same and I quote:

'1 - To establish the means and ways by which we will smuggle out comrades that must leave the country as was agreed upon by you and the comrade who represented us in your last meeting.

'2 - To know if you wish to re-establish contact in M.

'3 - To submit a brief report to you concerning the development of the struggle in Puerto Rico.

'4 - To clarify some points that might be a cause of worry to you.

'5 - To let you know our official standpoint on some points of common interest.'

"The last agreement reached by the National Directorate concerning the steps to take regarding relations between MIRA and Cuba were: that Comrade

SJ 105-12315

ANA would be instructed to make the pertinent arrangements for a new contact in M and that Comrade BENJAMIN would travel there to personally speak with the Cubans. So as to clarify, I would like to point out that in an earlier meeting of the National Directorate (ND) held on Base I, a motion by comrade CARLOS, in the sense that any official document having to do with the internal relations of MIRA had to be discussed and approved by the totality of the Directorate's members before it was sent out, was unanimously approved.

"Even though I was a member of the ND of MIRA, I was not consulted or informed at any given moment that the editing and delivery of an official document from our organization to the Cuban Communist Party was being contemplated. Only after the document had already left Puerto Rico was I presented with a copy of same; only after it had become a consummated and irreversible act.

"This constitutes a serious precedent and a clear violation of the principles of the collective management that guides our organization. Besides being disrespectful to my person as a member of the ND, this creates an intolerable situation heightened by the fact that I have deep rooted differences with the general character and context of the aforementioned document. Let us see:

"In the first place--and this should have been discussed even before writing began on the document --I would have strongly opposed establishing contact with the Cubans at the present time, by means of an expositive document. If I had been given the opportunity, I would have defended my position based on the complexity of the relations between MIRA and the Cuban Communist Party; and sustained by, what I consider, the lack of responsibility on the part of the Cubans as regards their internationalist duty toward our organization and its struggle.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"Secondly--and aside from the fact of whether a document should have been sent or not--I consider the report under discussion, in its totality, highly deficient. The general characteristic of the complete document is the extreme simplification almost to the point of detracting strength from certain matters which are highly complex, profound, and dialectic.

"Thirdly--the general tone of the document is apologetic from top to bottom and this is doubly serious in itself in a document of such nature especially when there is no logical reason for such an un-called for attitude.

"Fourth--the document falsifies--through neglect--the actual reality of relations between MIRA and the Cuban Communist Party. One can lie openly but to say some truths and silence others is also another way of lying. The great flaw of the document is that it selected and elaborated concrete points, omitting certain substantive ones and only stating the co-substantive and secondary.

"Fifth--and although it is now useless to discuss the document point by point--I cannot omit, without comment, the part that says that the members of the MINREX are much better equipped than we, the Puerto Ricans, to analyze the political, social, and economic aspects of the struggle of our people. Need I say that I absolutely reject that criteria. Furthermore, I consider absolutely unnecessary that the problem of the 'vicious detractions' perpetrated by other patriotic organizations against MIRA should have been included in the document. This takes, in an official form, the internal problems of the Puerto Rican struggle beyond our national boundaries and can negatively affect the solution of those differences that are hindering the revolutionary unity. In short, all of this is disputable or rather was disputable because

SJ 105-12315

now it is a consummated act.

"Sixth--and as a logical conclusion to all that I have said--the document is absolutely arbitrary. In part it reflects the positions and interpretations of one member of the ND, in some cases, of two members, but at no given moment of the leadership as a whole.

"Comrade BENJAMIN has confessed to me that he considers my indignation as just regarding the procedures utilized in writing and sending the document. Furthermore, he shares my views as far as that the document is superficial and arbitrary. He agrees that said document falsifies our state of relations and specially in that it is apologetic. This verifies that my appreciation of the document is not altogether subjective nor in minority.

"I have already pointed out to comrade BENJAMIN--and once more I reiterate--that it was an irresponsible act on his part to allow that document to be sent, specifically when he himself had doubts as to its contents.

"As I still consider myself a member of the ND of MIRA, I have no other choice but to demand from my comrades CARLOS and BENJAMIN that they be consistent with the revolutionary principle of autocriticism and that they give themselves a vote of censure for their actions. Furthermore, I consider it just and necessary that when contact is made with the Cubans in M it be pointed out to them that the document sent to them did not constitute an official standpoint due to the fact that it had not been discussed and approved by the ND as a whole as our procedures require. I consider these retributions necessary and just in order to straighten out this situation.

"In conclusion, I assure you that my trust in you in spite of what has happened, remains

SJ 105-12315

intact. My fraternal and sincere revolutionary wishes to you, as always

"LONG LIVE FREE PUERTO RICO

"LIBERATION OR DEATH

ARCADIO"

"September 10, 1970

"Comrades:

"After a week and a half of being isolated I have received letters from all the comrades. Obviously, the one written by comrade ARCADIO, dated September 5, surprised me greatly, not only by its contents, but also by its form. It is for this reason that I dedicate this letter exclusively to express my criterion with regard to the same, always led on by my desire to clear any difficulty which may arise among us and to better our political and personal relations to the utmost.

"It is my belief that to achieve this objective, and considering the nature of the comrade's letter, it is necessary to speak with the utmost frankness.

"In his letter, comrade ARCADIO presents a grave accusation against me. My faults, according to the comrade, have been as follows:

'1. Having violated the basic assumptions which make up the democratic form of conducting work in MIRA.

'2. Having violated the concept of collective administration.

'3. Having attributed myself extraordinary abilities to assume power over major decisions.

SJ 105-12315

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

'4. Not having had mutual respect.

'5. Having composed a letter in which the points set out are absolutely mistaken.

'6. Having neglected my responsibilities in the National Directorate of MIRA.

"Since it is not a question of six separate and distinct accusations, but of five resulting directly from an act; in other words, the act of composing and sending a letter 'without consultation,' on one hand, and on the other hand, the contents of the letter, I have only two points on which to comment.

"In the first place, I am just finding out that comrade ARCADIO had no knowledge of the letter being sent.

"I wish to make the following clear to comrade ARCADIO:

"a) By Tuesday, August 20, I had commented to comrade BENJAMIN the need to send a letter to the Cubans concerning the basis of the issues regarding the transfer of the comrades to Cuba and the problem of M. In addition, I told him that a type of short 'report' could be made, something which is, as you know, a routine among organizations which have even a minimum of intercourse.

"b) The comrade told me that a woman comrade was leaving very soon, but we agreed, on my suggestion, that in order to save time, I would compose the letters and there would be time to take them to you for your opinion. After all, tearing up a letter is not hard.

"c) On August 25, BENNY comes back with E. from the base. He tells me concretely that he had talked to you and that you were in agreement. Not only that, but also that you were giving a vote of confidence. In other words, that there was no problem.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"d) That same night, he told me to finish the letters, that the woman comrade was leaving the 2nd for N.Y. He agrees to come the next day. He came Saturday 30. He told me what had been settled with E and what was to be done for the overcoming of the 'co.' He was here for about three hours. He sealed all the letters: one for CARMELO, for the child, for PENA, for F.S., for RICARDO, and for my family. He told me that the letter for RICARDO should not be sent, since the address was unknown. He told me that P.'s letter was good; he found no objection in F.S.'s, and he told me the following about the child's

'a) that there was something about the style of vocabulary which he did not like. I told him that in the long run, the contents was the most important thing, and that the matter of style can be varied.

'b) he commented that he did not like the end of the letter. I asked his reasons for this and he replied concretely that he did not like the part about "our actions against the gusanera." I answered that what I was really trying to tell the child was that "even though they have not been able to fulfill their international duties, we, in spite of our shortcomings and real limitations, are willing to fulfill our international obligations with the 'Cuban people' (I did not say Cuban government)." He reacted positively to this explanation and we did not disagree on anything else.

'c) I ask him again about comrade ARCADIO and if he is sure that ARCADIO is in agreement and he answers yes.

"My final words to him were that I was satisfied with the letter, and I did not think ARCADIO would have any profound objections.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"Later, I see comrade BENNY on Monday, August 31, and I have not seen him since. This has been the issue, just as it has developed.

"Today, much to my surprise, I receive your letter, which is written in the severest of tones, and which I reject completely because the accusations (I am referring to the five) are made a priori without having taken the trouble to do some previous investigating that could justify the letter.

"What can be interpreted from your letter? Well, in the first place, that you consider the comrades guilty of acts, without any inquiries and furthermore, you wish to impose a moral sanction, which to your satisfaction you consider 'imperative.'

"I regret I am unable to accomodate you with regard to autocriticism for the five accusations. With respect to the 'form and content' of my letter, that is another matter. As is only natural, I respect your opinion of my letter, which according to you, does not express the criterion of the national directorate of MIRA, the dignity of a document should maintain, and lastly that the document is reproachable for its subjectivity and why not say it--worthless. That is your opinion, and I respect it.

"Nevertheless, I wish to make something clear. According to your interpretation of my letter, I express the fact that 'the functionaries of MINREX are better qualified than we Puerto Ricans to prepare a report which analyzes the political, social, and economic aspects of our struggle.'

"I consider such a statement an insult to the Puerto Rico people, its capability, and its sense of dignity. I did not say that in my letter. What I did say was that due to our clandestine condition, we do not have the means at hand to prepare this type of 'classic' report. By

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

means, it is implicit I am referring to economic material for reference purposes, etc. for that classic report. That the National Directorate is too busy fighting and struggling to 'waste time' in that at this moment. I do not like the idea of having reactionary ideas such as the one comrade ARCADIO interprets in my letter attributed to me.

"That I have told the Cubans, once the letter has been read a second time and its real meaning seen, the following:

"1. That we do not need them to continue this struggle.

"2. That they have not been able to meet their internationalist obligations.

"3. That solidarity and true internationalism is priceless.

"4. That we labor with a sounder and less selfish spirit.

"5. That in spite of having started from scratch, we have made progress.

"6. That we are conscious of the fact that they have not met their obligations.

"7. That in spite of everything, we are giving them a sound and honest opportunity to rectify their attitude.

"8. And that the way towards this rectification is being blocked.

"I am accused of being apologetic, confusing the tactic, and true sense of intention to correct errors and not just samples giving the necessary opportunity before preparing to determine a position of another nature. I have been courteous not apologetic. I am certain this is the inter-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
27

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

pretation they will give that letter. I am sure of this for a reason, that in spite of the fact that we have been together for a year, 'fighting' side by side, they know me better. You, it pains me to say it, are a bit suspicious of me, especially ARCADIO, who, while being very patient in the face of my (or our) serious injuries to his dignity, concludes by saying that 'his confidence remains intact.'

"It is very true that the problems we confront are profound problems, complicated and dialectical. It is also true that they are expressed with obvious simplicity (the comrade says ingeniousness). That really is not my fault. My best efforts are put forth to make a simple letter, without going into other points which we prefer to obviate for the present. It is my fault I am not the worthy possessor of more erudition? I have tried hard and have gone through a lot of sacrifices to better myself starting from nothing, without help, without professors, without finishing my studies. This comrades, is not my fault. If the lack of profound wording, dialectic of these complex problems creates more problems, then you have

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

to excuse me. I continue studying daily to overcome my simplicity. I am sure that little by little with your help, I will make it.

"Comrade Arcadio maintains that the letter is false because it 'omits the real state of affairs between M and C.' He states that 'it is possible to lie openly, but to state certain truths and omit others is also a form of lying.' This, in my opinion, is a great truth. The comrade continues by saying that 'the document selects and elaborates certain concrete points. Certain substantial matters are omitted and other co-substantial or secondary matters are treated.'

"This, in my opinion, is a positive factor, because if this has been the reaction of the comrade to my letter, in spite of the fact that I have respectfully avoided treating the underlying problem knowing that: a) the comrade Arcadio has given me a vote of confidence and b) that underlying problems cannot be treated as a basis for 'votes of confidence.' What would have happened if I had gone into 'essential' problems or issues? I say this in spite of the fact that the comrade does not say which are the essential points, although we know.

"To summarize, I am accused of taking upon myself, behind the National Directorate's back, the right to contact the C's through a letter, violating the norms of our democratic postulates, on the one hand, and on the other hand, I am accused of not having violated these postulates by writing a letter that was not explicit, because it was superficial, simple, etc. The simplicity of this letter is due precisely to the respect felt for our DN..

"In addition, I cannot help but point out another thing. In his letter of September 8, comrade Benny writes: 'That same night I gave the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

comrade the letters that had gone out that same morning to NY. Right away, comrade Arcadio before having finished reading the document for the "friends," expressed himself in a way totally opposed to the content and form of this communication. This is something on which I feel I must give my criterion. I am going to be very subjective in this, and if I am wrong, I would like comrade Arcadio to set me straight. I feel that any initiative I have had (without exception) with regard to recommendations to the DN, is immediately rejected by comrade Arcadio. On numerous occasions on which I have suggested documents, communications, letters, contacts, etc., etc, comrade Arcadio, like a conditioned reflex, expresses his opposition consequently. Overlooking the communication regarding the case of J.A.C., of the declaration about SANCHEZ' report, general ideas about the form of a communication, etc., etc., and the most recent about the Culebra march, always meet with the comrade's opposition.

"And now, an unjustified attitude on his part, if he had made further inquiries. I want the comrade to tell me if he sees anything negative in me, or that affects him in any way, because if it exists, I will correct it. On the contrary, if he thinks I am not qualified to collaborate with the DN of MIRA, let him be frank about it without any reservations.

"I prefer to be out of the DN and have our struggle progress, than to be in it and have unjustified friction exist.

"I have always thought, and continue to do so, that comrade Arcadio is a man of extraordinary talent, and that eventually as a result of his virtues, he will occupy a prominent place in our liberating struggle. I have always respected his ability and other revolutionary virtues, and I have placed in him great faith and respect.

SJ 105-12315

"About myself, I have never thought I am anything but a revolutionary at heart, without any other ambition than to see this struggle prosper.

"This is why I want to clearly establish the fact that I will accept being out of the DN. if that will benefit our struggle. I will incorporate myself to any branch of work, and to the orders of the DN of M with the same earnestness I feel I am doing so at the present moment. If my abilities do not meet the demands of this struggle, I submit my position to whomever has more ability than I. I say this without the least bit of resentment. I simply prefer this to finding myself obligated to enter into senseless discussions."

"September 20, 1970

"Comrades:

"In this communique I will answer the fundamental issues of the letter I received from comrade CARLOS. I do this in the spirit of comradeship which characterizes our relationships:

"I - The Policy of Procedure:

"In comrade CARLOS' letter an attempt is made to explain and clarify the procedure used to send the document to the Cubans. Based on these explanations, the comrade intends to justify his participation in the writing and sending of said document saying that the procedural norms were not violated. I carefully read those explanations and I consider that all they demonstrate is how really arbitrary the whole procedure was. Let us see:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
31

SJ 105-12315

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Comrade CARLOS states: 'On Tuesday, August 20, I had told comrade BENJAMIN that a communique had to be sent to the Cubans in order to solve the problem of the transfers of the comrades to C, concerning the problem of the contact in M and that they should be given a general idea on how our activities were developing here.'

"Further on he says: ' On August 25, B. returned with E. from the base and told me that the female comrade would depart soon (Sept. 2) to which I said that I would write up the letters in order to win time. The comrade stated he had talked with you and that you had agreed. Not only that, but that you had given a vote of confidence.'

"First Contradiction: Comrade CARLOS says that he brought up the sending of the document on the 20th, that I had been contacted, and that the 25th my approval and vote of confidence were received. The sent document was dated the 27th, but, in spite of all this, it was not until the 28th that comrade BENJAMIN saw me for the first time after various weeks without meeting with each other. How could I have sent my approval and vote of confidence on the 25th?

"Second Contradiction: Comrade CARLOS says that he had planned sending a document consisting of three points: 1- transfer of the comrades to C; 2- rendezvous or contact in M; 3- general report concerning our activities. He stated that he acted in the belief that he had my approval and vote of confidence. I reiterate that at no time did I give my approval or vote of confidence but even if comrade CARLOS thinks this is so; where does he get the approval and vote of confidence to include points four and five, which he added to the document? (Point #4: 'To

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

clarify some points of interest that might give you cause to worry.' Point #5: 'To give you our official standpoint on some points of common interest.')

"Comrade BENJAMIN states that at no time did comrade CARLOS mention his intention of including those two additional points. Comrade B points out that he became aware of them for the first time when he saw them on the document and that he was taken by surprise.

"In fact, Comrade BENJAMIN adds that at no time did he interpret that I had given my approval or vote of confidence to include the three points that CARLOS added, that he understood that I had only approved point number two, the one referring to the establishment of a contact in M. I did not even approve that, since I was not aware of the fact that any type of communication was to be sent to the Cubans and I was not consulted.

"How can there be any doubt about this since I have repeatedly insisted that all communications sent to New York cannot contain anything that can jeopardize comrade Rosa if she were to be searched at the airport. Comrade B absolutely guaranteed that the comrade would not be carrying anything compromising since she agreed that things at the airport were going from bad to worse. Comrade B agrees that I could not have known about the communique for the Cubans upon my bringing up these points. May I remind you that in that letter, weapons were asked for and that actions against the 'gusanera' were mentioned and it was addressed to the Political Bureau of The Cuban Communist Party.

"Third Contradiction: I saw the document for the first time September 3, when it had already been sent. That is when I first realized that it had been decided to send one and for the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SJ 105-12315

first time did I see its contents. I immediately asked for an explanation from comrade B who explained that I had not been consulted due to the fact that the comrade could not delay her departure from P.R. In other words, that all that had happened was due to a lack of time and that is why I had not been consulted.

"Nevertheless, comrade CARLOS affirms in his letter that I did have knowledge of the document, that I had knowledge of the points later included, and that I even gave a vote of confidence so that he could write it up. As if this were not enough, comrade CARLOS now says that he wrote up the document knowing that I would not get to read it.

"In short: At no time was I consulted regarding a decision of sending the document to the Cubans. Therefore, I could not have approved or given it a vote of confidence. CARLOS' letter clearly demonstrates this when he points out the dates when the matter was brought up, 'approved and voted upon' by me since up until then I had not seen comrade BENJAMIN. Comrade CARLOS' explanation that he acted in the belief that I had approved and given my vote of confidence does not free him from responsibility, since it does not justify the additional points added to the document.

"Conclusion: The procedure utilized in deciding to send a document to the Cubans was arbitrary. The form used to write it up and to decide its content was also arbitrary. Our procedural norms demand that official documents of the ND of MIRA be discussed and approved by the totality of the members of the ND before they are sent. In the case of documents affecting international relationships, it had been agreed upon that this would be the way. Therefore, the sent document cannot be considered an official document of the ND of MIRA.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"II. About the General Character of the Document

"In my criticism on the document I stated that the same falsified--through neglect--the actual reality of the relations between MIRA and the Cuban Communist Party. I pointed out that, to say some truths and to silence others was a form of lying and that the document precisely omitted certain substantial points and affirmed the co-substantial and secondary.

"Comrade CARLOS argues this point as if I had criticized everything in the document as secondary and that nothing in it was substantial. That is not the criticism I made and that I reiterate.

"If it is affirmed that something is co-substantial what is being said is that it is not secondary and that it is substantial but that it also depends on another substantial thing. In other words, there are two things--in this case truths--that go hand-in-hand in an intimate relationship. I criticized that in the document some things were not expressed in their true dimension, that is to say that, part of the relationship between two truths was stated without mention of the other part.

"But in comrade CARLOS' answer there are a series of contradictions that deserve to be mentioned and commented upon. The comrade states that the document read:

'1. That they have not carried out their internationalist duties or obligations.

'2. That we do not need them for the continuance of our struggle.

'3. That solidarity and true internationalism have no political price or any other kind.

'4. That we are aware of the fact that they have not done their duty.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 35

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

'5. That we work with a cleaner spirit, less egotistical.

'6. That in spite of all, we give them one more chance, honest and pure, to rectify their attitude.

'7. That the time for this rectification is drawing to a close.

'8. That in spite of having started from scratch, we are progressing.'

"Nevertheless, the comrade states that the document 'does not go into the substantial, only the secondary.' This is a clear contradiction since the alternatives are limited.

"1 - The document did include the eight points stated by the comrade and therefore, did state the substantial.

"2 - The document did not include the eight points stated by the comrade and, therefore, did not state the substantial. What is really impossible is that the document should have included the eight points and still not state the substantial. I carefully read and analyzed the document and I can affirm that those points were not brought up. Comrade BENJAMIN, who also read the document, did not see them either.

"In referring to my criticism that the document falsified a state of relationships by lying through neglect, comrade CARLOS states that in that way all human beings lie daily. This is true, but it still demands a comment.

"The dehumanization of man under capitalism has converted human relations into relations between interests. Due to this, lying through neglect has become a generalized conventionalism or a commodity utilized by the men this society

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

forms. At a superstructural level of morality and ethics, it is the dynamic reflex of some determined necessities by the realities and relationships of production. We have then, that the bourgeois morality is not applicable to the revolutionary and its values cannot be utilized to justify or rationalize our actions.

"A revolutionary vanguard constitutes an infrastructure of power with its own moral code which stands in dialectic antithesis before the bourgeoisie eventually taking its place. Therefore, our actions cannot be measured by what is practiced or acceptable in the society we are struggling to destroy.

"The new man is not formed after the rise to power, but in the infrastructure of power, in the struggle itself. Therefore, the revolution from its beginning has an obligation to the truth since truth itself is revolutionary. This obligation cannot be sacrificed even though the immediate interests may be opposed to it. To silence fundamental truths in order to obtain political advantages, solidarity, help, or whatever, is to be an opportunist.

"Furthermore, to speak with double meaning, to say without saying, but still saying, to write one thing so that another is understood, is not at the height of our convictions nor our courage to express them. Aesop's language--damned by Lenin--is not a valid resource to express revolutionary positions. Our points of view must be expressed in consequential forms, clear and direct, as we believe them to be.

"Regarding what I pointed out, that the document's general tone was apologetic from top to bottom, its enough to say that comrade BENJAMIN has the same opinion. Furthermore, BENNY points out that as soon as he read the

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 37

SJ 105-12315

document he pointed this out to comrade CARLOS. BENNY told me that comrade CARLOS answered him saying, 'I know.. how the Cubans operate' and that was why he had written the document in such a manner since they would understand what he had meant to say. Needless to say, I absolutely reject the criteria that our official documents be written based on such subjective variables as, 'I know how the Cubans operate.' This is specially so since the language used is so Aesopic that neither comrade BENJAMIN nor I could see the things that 'are said and that they will see,' as comrade CARLOS affirm.

"III - The Concrete Points:

"In my criticism of the document, I commented on two concrete points in the context. These were the ones referring to the vicious detractions and the MINREX. Based on the comments comrade CARLOS makes about these two in his letter, I will again comment on them.

"Comrade BENJAMIN tells me that when he was typing up the document he had his doubts as to whether he should have included the paragraph where our capacities are underestimated and the MINREX is overestimated, but that he decided not to change anything that might have been fundamental to the document. In other words, comrade B interpreted that paragraph in the same way I did.

"Comrade BENJAMIN tells me that he mentioned this to comrade CARLOS that he told him he would regret later on not changing that paragraph but comrade CARLOS told him that was his right and reminded him how we all had changed opinion in relation to the last MIRA communique.

"Nevertheless, comrade CARLOS tells me in his letter concerning that point: 'I did not express that in my communication. I asked BENNY

SJ 105-12315

about that point and he said that he never interpreted it that way, nor is it expressed in the document directly or disguised.'

"Comrade CARLOS asks me: 'Why did you reach that conclusion?' The answer is simple: for the same reason comrade B reached it, because it was there in the document. To clear away any doubts, I will quote the paragraph expressing my criticism and later the paragraph in question.

"My criticism: 'I cannot omit, without comment, the part that says that the members of the MINREX are much better equipped than we, the Puerto Ricans, to analyze the political, social, and economic aspects of the struggle of our people.

"The Document Read: 'This perhaps is not the type of classic report on the development of a struggle. That is to say, one that will analyze the political, social, and economic aspects, etc. That type of report would have required many efforts, technical data, etc., and at this precise moment we cannot tackle such a project. At any rate, you already have knowledge of those things and you have the MINREX who is in a better position of rendering a report of that nature than we are.'

"In this letter, comrade CARLOS explains what he meant to say by that. It is my duty to remind the comrade that when it comes to an 'official' document from the ND what was meant to say does not matter, but what was actually said is what counts.

"The second concrete point I criticized was expressed by me in the following manner:

SJ 105-12315

'I consider absolutely unnecessary that the problem of the "vicious detractions" perpetrated by other patriotic organizations against MIRA should have been included in the document. This takes, in an official form, the internal problems of the Puerto Rican struggle beyond our national boundaries and can negatively affect the solution of those differences that are hindering the revolutionary unity.'

"Comrade CARLOS rejects the criticism with two arguments: First he points out that he did not say the organizations, but instead some organizations. Secondly, he states that we have not been the ones to take this problem outside of Puerto Rico since the MPIPR had already done that.

"As to whether the comrade used the words the organizations or some organizations, may I remind him that I did not place the word the in quotation marks since I was not quoting. In spite of all, this does not change anything since what the comrade said is far more stronger than what his explanation clarifies. I will now quote directly from the document sent to the Cubans:

"First it says: 'But there exist certain reasons that might give you cause to worry since leaders of sister organizations have become, for unknown reasons, our detractors. For example, it has been said that our organization is "run by the CIA" and things of that nature only confuse those that see in MIRA a ray of hope for the nation.'

"Later on it points out: 'What the enemy has done with captured documents is to give the impression that we have been infiltrated and everyone they interrogate is told the same thing. We can expect this from the enemy because that is what they are for but...from our friends?'

SJ 105-12315

"As if this were not enough: 'the reactionary press does not publish our releases completely, only disfigured fragments of them and the separatist press--well, they do not even publish fragments.'

"And again: 'this seed has begun growing and nothing can stop it; neither our enemies with their fierce repression against MIRA, nor our friends, with their vicious detractions.'

"Secondly, the comrade believes that we have not been the ones to take this problem beyond our boundaries since the MPI has already taken care of that. This argument falls through completely: subjectively it assumes that the MPI had already informed this, although there is no proof of it, and then goes right ahead and informs it himself. That is called judging subjectively to later commit the same sin that we would criticize had they been the ones at fault. What comrade CARLOS did was tell the Cubans officially in case they had heard the rumor. With this we lose moral strength to later condemn others if we find out they have said it.

"Our problems with other Puerto Rican organizations are just that: Our problems. We will solve them here in Puerto Rico in the revolutionary way we best see fit, between the organizations involved. The Cubans have nothing to say in these matter and we do not have to let them in on them. In any case, should they stick their nose in, they would probably make things worse.

"As I pointed out in my criticism of the document, these things are all disputable. Comrades CARLOS or BENJAMIN have a right to differ from my views. I too have the right to hold different points of view. Fine, what no one has the right to do is to give his opinions or interpretations

SJ 105-12315

in the name of the National Directorate of the organization as the official policy of MIRA.

"Because of all the reasons exposed by me in my original criticism of the document and amplified here, I still consider that the only just thing to do is:

"1- To be consistent with the principles of criticism and auto-criticism recognizing in a revolutionary manner the faults committed.

"2- To reaffirm the agreement reached by the ND that all official documents of the ND of MIRA must be discussed and approved by the totality of the members as a necessary prerequisite to give legitimacy to any document.

"3- The next time a contact is established with the Cubans they will be told that the document sent to them was not officially from the ND of MIRA. Point out to them our official policy relating to some issues the document touched upon and others it did not mention.

"I do not want to close without making it clear that I am aware of the fact that mistakes will always follow us, but with a profound sense of auto-criticism we may be able to learn from these mistakes and turn them instruments that will enhance us.

"Once again I firmly reiterate that my confidence has not been affected and that comradeship remains as always.

"Long Live Free Puerto Rico,

"Liberation or Death

"ARCADIO"

SJ 105-12315

"September 25, 1970.

"Comrades:

"With this letter I intend to clarify the controversy brought about by the sending of the document to the Cubans. Comrade A has stated that his position regarding the matter and comrade C his. Neither one will budge from his position. Comrade C feels most offended because of the supposed personal accusations against him. I believe the matter is not as serious as C seems to think.

"Before anything else, I would like to give my version of the procedures utilized to send said document:

"1. Comrade R arrived Thursday, August 20, with various reports from CARMELO's area. She informs me that she will depart September 3rd. We agree to meet again Tuesday, the 25th to give her a message for her to give me a report on what happened to G's wife.

"2. That same night I go to see comrade C to have him read the report. After many hours of waiting for comrade ROLANDO, I decide to go up to the apartment. That night we read the message in almost total darkness and afterwards we commented on the situation in New York. Later while waiting for ROLAND, I fell asleep which did not give us an opportunity to talk over what should be done next.

"3. Between Friday 21 and Saturday 22 or Sunday, I again meet with comrade C at which time he expressed his position regarding the New York problem. He thought a letter should be sent to the C's to see if they wished to re-establish the lost contact; also write a letter to the comrade in C.

SJ 105-12315

"4. During those days I wrote a letter to comrade A informing him of ROSA's arrival and if at all possible, that he should begin writing up the letters for New York; one for the Young Lords which C had recommended and one for the Cubans soliciting the re-establishment of the contact. Comrade A answers in another letter that he had never promised to write up so many letters and anyway, why so many letters?

"5. Comrade C read this letter and we agreed that he (C) would begin writing said letters. That same day (Monday) I sent word to Comrade A. that he could go to Angel's house which he did not do until Thursday night (27th).

"6. I return with E from the base accompanied by comrade MARCOS. According to comrade C that night I told him that A had given his vote of confidence and that he could write the letters up. May I remind C that that night I rushed in and out, (1) because M was waiting for me in the car and it was raining (2) because C plopped down on the floor to read the letter I gave him in which the New York situation was analyzed and (3) because the only words uttered there in reference to the fact that E had made the telephone calls.

"7. I returned to ROLO's house the next day. C informs me about his conversations with E. C presents me for the first time with his project of writing up the letter. Concerning this I gave him my opinion on some issues which I will talk about later in this letter. By the time point #7 was written it was the 26th and still no contact had been made with A. CARLOS agreed to re-do some issues which were cloudy and to relocate some paragraphs.

"8. On Friday morning I met with A at ANGEL's house. Already it was the 28th. On the 27th I did

SJ 105-12315

not meet with comrade CARLOS which was the day he was to finish writing the documents which were to be sent.

"I believe everything is clear up to this point and I will now touch upon some other points related with what I have said up until now:

"1) On the 26th when C showed me the document for the first time, I gave him my opinion:

a) that the weapons mentioned in the document were not of such number. He answered that he knew that but that 'I can make a mistake.'

b) that I did not like the apologetic tone in which our organization was mentioned since we are much better than all of the others as far as quality is concerned. He asked if this was not true. I answered yes, but that this was one thing and another was to mention it in the document. Finally, it remained as such.

c) that I did not believe the reference made to the Cuban organizations in exile should be included the way it was worded. Concerning this, I explained that the purpose was to criticize their past attitudes toward us and the struggle. I accepted his explanation. He said he would work on it some more.

d) regarding the rest, everything was O.K. with me.

"2) On August 28, I saw ARCADIO and told him the following:

a) everything related with E and his calls

SJ 105-12315

b) that a letter for CARMELO was being written, another for the Young Lords, one for the comrades in C and one for the C's in which we asked if they wished to re-establish contact. I say 'were being written' because they were not finished. The comrade agreed with all this but said that anything going out must be camouflaged so as not to jeopardize ROSA if she were stopped at the airport. Nothing else was said at this moment to A perhaps because I forgot or believing that he would be able to read the finished product. A's O.K. I interpreted as a vote of confidence for writing up the letters. On his part, A understood that the C project would be done through ANA. At that moment I did not interpret it as such and when C asked me about the approval and vote of confidence, I said, 'Yes, everything is alright.'

In short: I am sure I told A that a document was being sent to the C's. I think I did not express myself very well and did not explain in detail what was going on.

"The 29th I see C and he gives me the finished copy to be typed up. From here on comrade A does not receive the documents because we were waiting to type them up so that he could see them, of course, we were counting on A's support. I began typing the documents and managed to type the last one precisely the day ROSA was leaving. Throughout all this, I do not believe it was the comrade's intention to 'give his personal opinions and interpretations in the name of the ND of the organization as the official policy of MIRA.'

"Comrade A says that 'the premises expounded' by him 'have been arbitrarily violated'...and 'censures the comrades of the ND that, to a lesser or greater degree, have been responsible,' and points out this as a 'lack of respect towards me

SJ 105-12315

as an integral member of the ND.' I believe this whole issue has not been arbitrary or meant to be 'arbitrary' by comrades CARLOS and B. In any case (...illegible...) At no time has there been a lack of respect towards him as a member of the ND.

"Comrade CARLOS is deeply offended since he interprets the criticism as directed at him. My participation in the writing and approving of the document is the same or greater than comrade CARLOS' since I was responsible of showing the same to A before it was sent.

"Regarding the Document:

"1. I share A's opinion regarding the MINREX issue. I had already expressed this to CARLOS. After thinking about the issue, I coincided with A and I let him know it. What comrade C wanted to express in this issue is not really implicit and therefore he should explain what he meant by that.

"2. Regarding the issue of the 'vicious detractions,' I believe A has given too much importance to it when he states that 'it can hinder the solution to our problems and differences which are keeping us from revolutionary unity.' I do not believe this will have any negative influence, in the near or far future, on what we term 'revolutionary unity.' C's position may be subjective, but we cannot deny that it is the closest to the truth given past experience in this respect.

"Regarding comrade A's comment as to the 'deficiency of the document' we must make this very clear. Whether the document is deficient or does not imply that C and B are morons. The document is deficient because it lacks profound analysis. This we could not do in the time allotted. The document is simply a letter that

SJ 105-12315

never pretended to indulge in profound issues that only correspond to the ND as a whole. I believe the document to be written in 'simple' form but we cannot classify it as 'stupid.'

"I believe that no matter how many flaws the document may have, this does not change the existing relations between the Cuban Communist Party and MIRA. We really did not compromise ourselves with the C.P. but we did express an obligation, in principle, towards the Cuban people."

"Regarding the clarification with the Cubans should another contact be established, our positions can be plainly expressed since the issues of discrepancies are not questions of analysis, definite and static. The Cuban issue has always been left hanging in the air and this now will not add or subtract from it."

"I hope the comrades of the ND will be able to see things without passion and I trust that our organization will be able to pull out of worse situations triumphantly and stronger than before."

"Without anything further to say on this matter,

"MITIA"

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SJ 105-12315

III. ACTIVITIES

A. Plans and Actions

[REDACTED] WILSON CORTES BURGOS [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] violations of
the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico, for which he and five
other members of the Partido Socialista Obrero (Socialist
Workers Party) (PSO) were on trial at Aguadilla, Puerto
Rico [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SJ T-4 on
[REDACTED]

A characterization of WILSON CORTES
BURGOS is contained within that of
the PSO.

[REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

67D

SJ 105-12315

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b7C
Detectives
New York City Police Department
(NYCPD), New York, New York
SA ANTHONY D. LEONE and
SA ALESIO SAVIOLA, on
May 19, 1970

At approximately 3 am on July 19, 1970, an explosive device caused approximately \$5,000 damage to the Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) Tropo Scatter Site, San Juan Grande, Puerto Rico.

In the early morning of July 30, 1970, five explosive devices detonated near Selective Service Offices in Guaynabo, Puerto Rico; Isabela, Puerto Rico; Luquillo, Puerto Rico; Humacao, Puerto Rico; and Naguabo, Puerto Rico, resulting in approximately \$540 damage.

[REDACTED] b7C
Supra
July 19 and 30, 1970

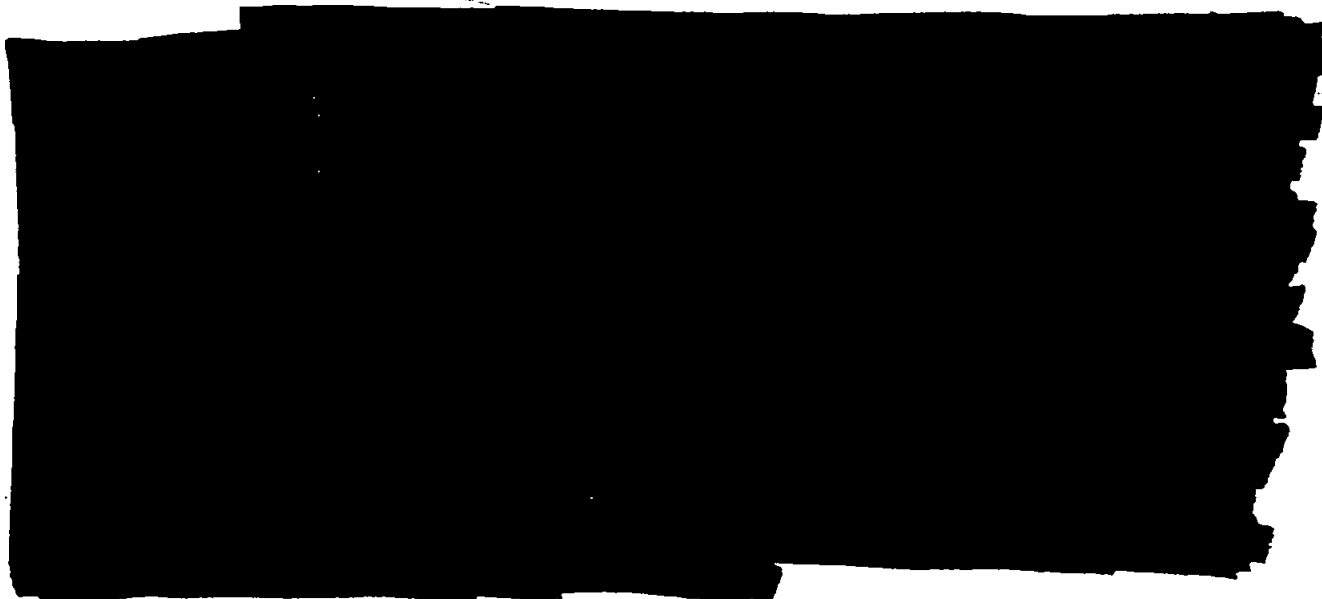
The September 22, 1970, edition of the "San Juan Star" contained an article entitled "Sailor Claims Three Shots were Fired from Car," which states "A 19 year old sailor has claimed that three men fired at him early Monday morning as he entered the San Juan Naval Station. Police say JIMMY COLE, a Military Policeman, filed a complaint Monday alleging that he had been fired upon at 1:25 that morning by three men who cruised slowly by him in a Chevrolet."

"The San Juan Star" is an English language newspaper published daily in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

~~SECRET~~

SJ 105-12315

CGA



The notebook of OJEDA RIOS seized on October 10, 1970, contains an entry in his handwriting as follows:

"II. Organizing Development of MIRA after the Actions of December 11th. Political Results of Our Actions - Successes and Failures.

A. Organizing Development of MIRA from December 11, 1969, through June, 1970

"The actions of December 11 caused a great impact in our country. Effective and coordinated actions like these had never been carried out in Puerto Rico. A new range for our actions was opened and as a result we were able to extend our organization in the following aspects:

"(1) New Militant cells and collaborators.

SJ 105-12315

- (2) More facilities for transportation.
- (3) Development of the rural areas.
- (4) Expansion of our small network of hideouts.
- (5) Donations of arms and fighting material.

"The above was attained with the utmost security measures.

"Another aspect worthy of mention is the representation obtained from the different sectors of the life of our country to include professionals, laborers, countrymen, etc.

"One of the main contributions has been that of the basic explosive materials which are obtained in quantities. The Ammonium Nitrate (Nitrato de Amonio)(N.A.) which used to cost great amounts of monies and had to be brought from outside is no longer a problem.

"Another great accomplishment has been the creation of our rural base and the experience gained there. In our rural base we have places to bury equipment and arms. We have plans to expand our rural base and create others.

"On the other hand, we receive very important information from reliable and well informed sources.

"Our technical development is constantly increasing. Inventions like the 'Activator 101' and 'Activator 201' have raised us to a superior technical level. The prospect of installing our own radio station is important.

"The contacts and work that we visualize at 'el cano' are of great importance because

SJ 105-12315

they will greatly improve the plans of our organization."

Translator's Note: Meaning of "el cano" as follows: Open sewer, ditch, conduit, cellar, channel at the entrance of sea-ports. There is a slum in the Santurce area known as "El Cano" and many places throughout the Island known by that name.)

"Finally, we have proven that our idea of armed struggle is correct, and that it is the agent that will mobilize our people and the only way to attain our liberation.

"B - Political Changes in Puerto Rico
as a result of our Action

"As a tradition, the colonial government has tried to keep a front of 'democratic freedom,' utilizing all the resources available as the television, radio, press, educational system, and propaganda and psychological deformation to consolidate the myth of democratic bourgeoisie.

"There is a continuous praise for the moral values of the 'free enterprise' social system. Watchwords like 'Improvement of the individual,' 'free enterprise,' 'free determination,' 'free elections.' are used to confuse our people. On the other hand, the colonial government tries to discredit the revolutionary struggle by instilling terror in the people's conscience to all fundamental political changes. Repressive action and identification of persons involved in the struggle was the 'control' being used.

"But the armed action carried out by the true vanguard created a new situation and after the sabotage actions against the North American enterprises, tourist centers, the image of 'justice,' 'liberality,' and 'democracy' stumbled.

SJ 105-12315

"The pressure applied by the Yankees to finish up the 'terrorists' showed the real face and the fascist character of the repressive government. They started to make up cases against independentists. All persons suspected of being involved with subversive organizations are threatened. The bonds set on the patriots are excessively high. Searching without a warrant is a common practice; massive arrests, rightist provocations, abuse and killing of students; persecution of the lawyers involved in legal counselling of independentist, etc., demonstrate that the 'democratic' front is not in use any more.

"A fact of real interest is that imperialists do not trust the repressive forces of the government and the FBI is assuming a more active role in the investigations of clandestine struggle. They don't only investigate but threaten the parents of the patriots being persecuted with killing their sons. We know very well that they will kill all those involved in the cause of liberty. On the other hand, they try to get the cooperation of persons who are weak before the difficulties of the struggle.

"Along these same lines the local press supports and asks for the arrest and trial of all those opposing the colonial regime and is using all means available to prepare the people psychologically for the massive repression which is being planned.

"It is concluded that:

- a) The FBI is playing a more significant role in the direction of the repression against our people.
- b) They will increase repression as struggle increases, taking action against all those

SJ 105-12315

identified with the independence, be these 'innocent' or 'guilty.'

- c) They make use of threats and blackmail with the relatives of the revolutionaries.
- d) They try to 'detect' the 'weakness' in an individual and obtain their services.
- e) A campaign of psychological terror is on the way for all those allegedly involved in the revolutionary struggle.
- f) A campaign to prepare public opinion for a massive repression has been started.
- g) They are increasing its repressive force and establishing 'control' systems for automobiles under pretexts.
- h) A repressive movement has been organized against student protest and laborer strikes.

"Summary: A wider and methodical repression is under way against all the patriotic sectors with the exception of those who want the independence without any structural changes.

This same notebook subsequently contains the following in OJEDA RIOS' handwriting:

"V-Setting Our New Strategic and Tactical Plans at Short Terms

1. Strategic Plans

"We have already covered the development of our strategy for last year, its success and failures.

"As far as our long termed strategy is concerned it is clearly defined. It is the 'take over by the people.' Our tactical strategy has been defined also: 'armed struggle.'

SJ 105-12315

"As we have stated in the past, it is necessary to establish short-termed strategic plans which would improve slowly our struggle.

"Generally, as a result of our actions, we have been able to overcome fundamental problems that we faced in our first strategic plan. As was to be expected, new problems have arisen which we must take in consideration for our new strategic and tactical plans.

"Right now, we are facing a very difficult situation and we are still in the stage in which our activities must be directed mainly towards the internal development and consolidation of our organization.

"In order to attain the internal development and consolidation, we must increase the development of the conscience and support of all sectors sympathizing with our struggle.

"This means that our strategic conception must be, in the first place, the internal consolidation.

"When would we be able to feel that we have reached our internal consolidation, in order to start the development of our struggle in all its capacity, effectiveness, and ability to expand.

"We will consider we have attained this when:

- "(1) We have a propaganda center
- "(2) We have a network of hiding places that would guarantee the continuity of our struggle
- "(3) We have solved the transportation problem
- "(4) We have solved the problems of political and ideological excellence of our cells

SJ 105-12315

- (5) We have developed a communications system to insure maximum security

"Once these problems are solved, we may consider that our second short termed strategic plan has been accomplished.

"Some of these problems may be solved immediately, but most of them depend on our economic situation. This brings up a new problem: 'How are we going to meet our financial needs?'

"Experience has shown that our action has been able to further our development. We have received financial help and we think the help has been up to the action carried out. Nevertheless, we are in need of huge economical resources and those on hand have a zero balance. The possibility of receiving large quantities are practically none. So, we have three alternatives:

"(a) Expropriation of resources

(b) Wait for the resources that will possibly reach Comrade ADRIAN through the procedures known to him.

(c) Improve our hideouts system, communications, transportation, and propaganda at the present time, and mobilize the organization militarily to resume the efforts to obtain funds after our actions.

"In this matter, once we are able to overcome our financial difficulties, we may start to work in our organization problems."

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a letter signed "ARCADIO" dated September 29, 1970, to "Comrades" which states in part:

SJ 105-12315

"#3 - I have received word from ALI in which he tells me he has finished the preliminary study of the objective assigned to him. We have agreed that as soon as he finished that stage of investigation I would go with him to make it more thorough and see what possibilities of action against that base there are. This is due to the importance of the objective and to the fact that ALI does not wish to meet anyone else in the organization. The problem posed by this situation is that he has to be the guide for the study since we must do it through the mountains surrounding the base. That is why we cannot send another comrade to verify the study but rather we must go with him. I can arrange for lodging in Ponce for a couple of days or for the duration of this activity. I hope comrade BENJAMIN has explained to CARLOS the specific action I am talking about since I gave him a detailed explanation after my last meeting with ALI. If for some reason comrade B did not do it, I can put it in writing along with the maps.

Contained in documents seized on October 10, 1970, was a diagram of the Puerto Rican National Guard Armory in Caguas, Puerto Rico.

At approximately 1 a.m. on October 12, 1970, four armed men, wearing nylong stockings over their faces, robbed the Rexach Construction Company, Guaynabo, Puerto Rico, of 700 pounds of Ammonium Nitrate, which is a primary ingredient of explosive devices utilized by terrorist organizations in Puerto Rico.

b7C

[REDACTED] October 12, 1970

Supra

At approximately 1:05 am on December 14, 1970, a pipe bomb exploded at the General Electric Building, 570 Lexington

SJ 105-12315

Avenue, New York City. This bomb was approximately two inches in diameter, 10 inches in length, and had been placed on a ground floor window ledge. The explosion smashed a plate glass window in the building and also caused damage to an adjacent building. Injuries were sustained by two pedestrians who were struck by flying glass. The bomb's explosive matter appeared to be of low order, possibly black powder, with a pocket watch and battery time device.

[REDACTED] 67C
[REDACTED] NYCPD to
SA ANTHONY D. LEONE on
December 14, 1970

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Radio Station WINS, New York City,
received an anonymous telephone call from a male with
a decidedly Spanish accent who stated:

"GE will be blown up! This is
MIRA!"

[REDACTED] 67C
Special Service Division
NYCPD to SA ANTHONY D.
LEONE, December 14, 1970

SJ 105-12315

B. Firearms, Equipment, Material
and Preparation of Explosive-
Incendiary Devices

b7C
b7D JUAN CASTILLO AYALA gave instructions to MIRA
affiliates in Arecibo, Puerto Rico, to purchase picks,
shovels, and fatigue uniforms. [REDACTED]

SJ T-5 on
March 24, 1970

[REDACTED] in the Barrancas section of
Arecibo, Puerto Rico. OJEDA and CASTILLO AYALA were
driving a Volkswagen and CASTILLO AYALA had effectively
disguised himself as a woman. [REDACTED]

On March 24, 1970, [REDACTED]
stated that if a certain individual
[REDACTED] to MIRA for [REDACTED]

SJ T-5 on
March 31, 1970

During the week of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] delivered [REDACTED]
affiliate [REDACTED] to a MIRA
[REDACTED] Puerto Rico. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] were subsequently delivered to [REDACTED]

SJ T-5 on
April 9, 1970

67C

~~X~~

SJ 105-12315

On [REDACTED] stated that MIRA was seeking [REDACTED]

On [REDACTED] obtained [REDACTED] to be delivered to MIRA leaders.

On [REDACTED] stated that [REDACTED] were having trouble with the material previously supplied [REDACTED] and that [REDACTED]

SJ T-5
April 20, 1970

On April 19, 1970, [REDACTED] made available [REDACTED] which consisted of [REDACTED] explained the [REDACTED]

67D

SJ T-2 on
April 19, 1970

The following are photos showing the [REDACTED] made available by SJ T-2 on April 19, 1970.

~~X~~

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

4

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

☐ (b)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☐ (j)(2)

☐ (b)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(C)

☐ (k)(1)

☒ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(8)

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57105-12315-602 pgs. 102-105

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b7C .b7D

SJ 105-12315

MIRA sympathizers in New York were collecting money [REDACTED] which would be [REDACTED]

SJ T-2 on
April 20, 1970

[REDACTED] stated that some time ago, he heard that a man was in New York City recruiting for a clandestine organization. He was able to [REDACTED] whom he has determined from recent newspaper photos to be FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS.

This man [REDACTED] This individual [REDACTED] in this regard came from [REDACTED] whom [REDACTED] considered a close friend.

SJ T-3 on
May 22, 1970

[REDACTED] CARLOS FELICIANO VASQUEZ subsequent to his arrest on May 19, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Supra
June 30, 1970

Seized at the time of the arrest of FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, on October 10, 1970, was a black traveling bag containing numerous tools and possessions of OJEDA RIOS. Enclosed in this bag was a .38 caliber Special John revolver, 68 .38 Special cartridges, instructions on how to activate an explosive charge utilizing a photo-electric cell; how to manufacture a silencer for firearms;

SJ 105-12315

and how to construct a .60 mm mortar grenade. Also located was a general manual for the construction of explosive devices.

In his notebook, OJEDA RIOS states as follows regarding the accomplishments of MIRA:

"One of the main contributions has been that of the basic explosive materials which are obtained in quantities. The Ammonium Nitrate (Nitrato de Amonio N.A.) which used to cost great amounts of monies and had to be brought from outside is no longer a problem.

"Another great accomplishment has been the creation of our rural base and the experience gained there. In our rural base we have places to bury equipment and arms. We have plans to expand our rural base and create others.

"On the other hand, we received very important information from reliable and well-informed sources.

"Our technical development is constantly increasing. Inventions like the 'Activator 101' and 'Activator 201' have raised us to a superior technical level. The prospect of installing our own radio station is important."

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a letter dated September 29, 1970, from ARCADIO to "Comrades" which states in part as follows:

"1 - I have just met with Comrade MARCOS and he informs that he still has not been able to solve the problem of the Ammonium and the Chlorate, but that he will keep trying. I told him about the trip to Base I and he will probably be able to take B tonight.



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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FOIPA
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Section 552

Section 552a

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Section 552

Section 552a

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Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): (VOL. 1)

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

50105-12315-602 pgs. 70 + 71

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SJ 105-12315

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a scrap of cardboard containing the following:

- "1. Machine Gun (crossed out: 'and needles')
2. Batteries
3. Binoculars
4. Four hammocks
5. Four nylons
6. Two lanterns
7. Monitors
8. Make-up
9. Scale
10. Bottles for pills
11. Pecos Bill
12. Wig
13. Green ink
14. Medicines
15. Civilian clothes
16. Radios
17. Threads for (illegible) and sewing
18. Helmet
- "1. Machine Gun
2. Binoculars
3. Monitor

SJ 105-12315

4. Make-up and Wig

5. Pecos Bill"

ROBERTO TODD PAGAN and FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS in their capacities as MIRA leaders, were the persons who constructed the actual bombing devices and they themselves would personally deliver these bombing devices to MIRA cell members, with the exception of the New York cell.

SJ T-1 on
December 1, 1970

FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS claimed that he attended sabotage school in Cuba receiving special indoctrination in general bomb making, manufacture of weapons and mines, and self defense. OJEDA RIOS stated that while in Puerto Rico, he had [REDACTED]

SJ T-1 on
December 17, 1970

57C
SJ 105-12315

C. Communications

On April 15, 1970, [REDACTED] advised that he had not been able to contact the MIRA leadership until 'recently.'

SJ T-5 on
April 20, 1970

b7D On [REDACTED] MIRA member in New York City, stated that the telephone should never be used except for signalling purposes to meet at pre-arranged locations.

SJ T-2 on
[REDACTED]

On Friday, April 20, 1970, a letter addressed to [REDACTED] with return address of [REDACTED] was picked up by an unknown party from [REDACTED]

SJ T-6 on
April 21, 1970

[REDACTED], was
rented on November 4, 1969, by [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] U. S.
Post Office, San Juan,
Puerto Rico, On March 5,
1970

b7D [REDACTED] CARLOS FELICIANO
VASQUEZ subsequent to his arrest on May 19, 1970, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

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FOIPA
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Section 552

Section 552a

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SJ 105-12315

The New York Cell of MIRA was comprised of AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO, MARTA SANCHEZ OLMEDA, and two other individuals. ROBERTO TODD PAGAN and FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS maintained contact with the New York cell group of MIRA [REDACTED]

SJ T-1 on
December 1, 1970

In a letter seized on October 10, 1970, dated September 25, 1970, "MITIA" states in part as follows:

"Comrades:

"With this letter I intend to clarify the controversy brought about by the sending of the document to the Cubans. Comrade A has stated his position regarding the matter and comrade C his. Neither one will budge from his position. Comrade C feels most offended because of the supposed personal accusations against him. I believe the matter is not as serious as C seems to think.

"Before anything else, I would like to give my version of the procedures utilized to send said document:

"1. Comrade R arrived Thursday, August 20, with various reports from CARMELO's area. She informs me that she will depart September 3rd. We agree to meet again Tuesday the 25th to give her a message and for her to give me a report on what happened to G's wife.

"2. That same night I go to see comrade C to have him read the report. After many hours of waiting for comrade ROLANDO, I decide to go up to the apartment. That night we read the message in almost total darkness, and afterwards we commented

SJ 105-12315

on the situation in New York. Later, while waiting for ROLO, I fell asleep which did not give us an opportunity to talk over what should be done next.

"3. Between Friday 21 and Saturday 22 or Sunday, I again meet with comrade C at which time he expressed his position regarding the New York problem. He thought a letter should be sent to the C's to see if they wished to re-establish the lost contact; also write a letter to the comrades in C.

"4. During those days I wrote a letter to comrade A informing him of ROSA's arrival and if at all possible, that he should begin writing up the letters for New York; one for the Young Lords which C had recommended and one for the Cubans soliciting the re-establishment of the contact. Comrade A answers in another letter that he had never promised to write up so many letters and anyway, why so many letters?

"5. Comrade C read this letter and we agreed that he (c) would begin writing said letters. That same day (Monday) I sent word to Comrade A that he could go to ANGEL's house which he did not do until Thursday night (27th).

"6. I return with E from the base accompanied by comrade MARCOS. According to comrade C that night I told him that A had given his vote of confidence and that he could write the letters up. May I remind C that that night I rushed in and out, (1) because M was waiting for me in the car and it was raining (2) because C plopped down on the floor to read the letter I gave him in which the New York situation was analyzed and (3) because

SJ 105-12315

the only words uttered there were in reference to the fact that E had made the telephone calls.

"7. I returned to ROLO's house the next day. C informs me about his conversation with E. C presents me for the first time with his project of writing up the letter. Concerning this I gave him my opinion on some issues which I will talk about later in this letter. By the time point #7 was written it was the 26th and still no contact had been made with A. CARLOS agreed to re-do some issues which were cloudy and to relocate some paragraphs.

"8. On Friday morning I met with A at ANGEL's house. Already it was the 28th. On the 27th I did not meet with comrade CARLOS which was the day he was to finish writing the documents that were to be sent.

Subsequently he stated:

"2) On August 28, I saw ARCADIO and told him the following:

a) everything related with E and his calls

b) that a letter for CARMELO was being written, another for the Young Lords, one for the comrades in C and one for the C's in which we asked if they wished to re-establish contact.

D. Hideouts

introduced me to [redacted] and thereafter

on August 28, 1970

As of March, 1970, two apartments had been rented by MIRA for utilization as headquarters. In 1969, an apartment was rented in the Green Village Condominium, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, and in 1970, another was rented at 212 Calle Comercio, Bayamon, Puerto Rico. Both ROBERTO TODD PAGAN and FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS utilized these apartments as hiding places and MIRA Headquarters, and actually engaged in bomb-making within the confines of these apartments.

SJ T-1 on
December 1, 1970

Contained in the notebook of OJEDA RIOS' seized on October 10, 1970, in his handwriting, was the following notation:

"LUZ MARIA - hiding place - Cafe Mis Amores - in front of hospital - base - ask SANTOS COLON and ANTONIO TORRES - GU. brothers ANA MARIA."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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SJ 105-12315

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a letter dated September 25, 1970, signed MITIA which states as of August 20, 1970, FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS was living in an apartment and as of August 28, 1970, ARCADIO was at ANGEL's.

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a letter dated September 29, 1970, signed ARCADIO, which states in part:

"2 - MARIA will establish contact with SANDRA tomorrow since I am scheduled to be in that area some time this week."

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a typewritten letter which states as follows:

"September 29, 1970

"Comrade MITIA:

"Revolutionary Wishes.

"I need to see you tomorrow at 2:00 pm in the old apartment to finish our cleaning labors..If there is some inconvenience to you please send word with comrade MARCOS. Please forgive the many bothers but I must be out of the apartment before the 31st of the month.

"Until final victory

"Long Live Free Puerto Rico

"Liberation or Death

"MARIA"

SJ 105-12315

b7C
b7D

E. Security and Collection of
Intelligence regarding Law
Enforcement Agencies

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED], stated that [REDACTED] had fled to New York City because
he had learned that [REDACTED] and furnishing information
relative to MIRA activities. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SJ T-7 on
June 3, 1970

[REDACTED] CARLOS FELICIANO
VASQUEZ subsequent to his arrest on May 16, 1970. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Supra
June 30, 1970

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a letter
written by OJEDA RIOS, which states as
follows:

"Monday, August 31, 1970

"Dear Comrades RICARDO and A (GINA):

"We have received detailed information
concerning you. We think it's very sad
that the place where you were staying
was burned so soon. The truth of the
matter is that that what happened was
accidental and not due to malice because

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

the person who went there to visit your sister brought FBI investigation there.

"Regardless of this, some errors were made. I don't know if this was caused by the last instructions I gave you, perhaps they were not clear, or were not understood.

"I am giving you exact instructions for you to follow:

"1. Do everything possible to change your physical appearance. I do not know about your companion, GINA, but yours is very possible.

"2. Get false documents for you and for her (birth certificates for both of you).

"3. Get married under your new names. That way you will get a Marriage Certificate.

"4. If at all possible, apply for a drivers license under your new name.

"5. Get a new Social Security Card under your new name. Even though you use your new name, do not put the information that appears on the birth certificate, such as father, mother, place and date of birth, on the Social Security application. This will avoid the possibility that there might be a Social Security account with that information. Make that information up.

"6. Do everything possible to normalize your life. Do not participate in any way in any political activity, or any other activity that will bring attention to you. You have to make a lot of friends and convert yourself into another politically alienated person.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 82

SJ 105-12315

Do not talk politics, and if you ever have to say anything, defend the United States.

"We realize that this is going to be difficult. But this is necessary in view of the projects we have for you. For your general knowledge, I set out the following so that you can get a better idea for the reasons behind the orders to assume this attitude.

"In a little while, a cell of the National Directorate will be moving there. Once you have attained all that is expected of you, you will move where we indicate and will move in with the utmost normality - a married couple who moves from one state to another. It is not like moving from Puerto Rico to the States. You see? Once you are there, you will be the main collaborators with your comrade and you will aid him in the development of his work, which he will explain to you later. I cannot give you any more details but I can tell you this, it is of utmost importance that you follow these instructions.

"You may write to some members of your family which you think is necessary, and give your letters to the comrade who gave you this one. We will assure that it arrives. Do not let on where you are!

"Tell me how GINA is. Has she had her baby? We have been really worried about you, especially since we could not get instructions to you.

"No one must find out what this letter is about. Not even the comrade who delivered it to you. The things you know can only be discussed with your immediate supervisor. This is CARMELO, until the comrade from here arrives.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"Do not forget that in the struggle there are militants and collaborators. You are naturally militants. But a lot of the people who have aided us are only collaborators, and can know no more than that which corresponds to their level of participation. Although that is the same thing we do with the militants, their level of participation and trust is much greater.

"When you answer my letter, let me know how the political situation is over there. What do they say about MIRA?

"Well comrades, you can be sure that we do not forget about you. We have you in our minds at all our activities.

"A revolutionary hug is sent for both of you with utmost affection. You may be three already. Your comrades PAPO and W also send their regards. These are really involved.

"Always to the chant:

"Long Live Free Puerto Rico!!

War to the Yankee!!

Liberation or Death!!

D. N. De M---

"Once you have read this letter and have all your instructions clear BURN IT.

"Your answer will be delivered sealed."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 84

NY 105 12315

Information contained in the above letter indicates that RICARDO and GINA are identical with fugitive MIRA members CARLOS FONSECA and ADELINA RAMIREZ DE FONSECA.

Located in the notebook of OJEDA RIOS seized on October 10, 1970, was a section in his handwriting captioned "Record of Agents and Informants" which states as follows:

"FBI Agent

67C
"JOHN J. BURKE - [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

"This agent is actively working against the Puerto Rican independentists. He has resorted to threats. He has threatened the mothers and relatives of patriots engaged in clandestine work with killing their children, etc.

"6-28-70"

JOHN J. BURKE is an SA, FBI, who was stationed in San Juan, Puerto Rico, until the Fall of 1970, at which time he was transferred to another assignment.

"Federal Judge

"Name - MILLER, HARLEY A.
[REDACTED]

SJ 105-12315

b7c
[REDACTED]
"Federal Judge. Handles the cases regarding Obligatory Military Service. This individual is sarcastic with the accused. He has a private office in Fortaleza Street # _____. This is the building with the carillon that rings the hour. It is in front of a shoe store. His name is in the building directory. The office is on the third floor.

"6-28-70"

HARLEY A. MILLER is the U. S. Magistrate in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

"CIC Agent

"Name - [REDACTED]

"Address - [REDACTED]

"June 28, 1970

"This agent is active in political cases against the patriots. Explosives section."

[REDACTED] is a former member of the Explosives Section of the Criminal Investigations Corps of the POPR.

"Name [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

"This traitor is the brother of [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] He accused his sister and [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SJ 105-12315

b7C

"June 28, 1970

[REDACTED] is related to him"

[REDACTED] is the brother of [REDACTED] an imprisoned member of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico (NPPR). He is a member of the Popular Democratic Party of Puerto Rico, a legally constituted political party favoring commonwealth status for Puerto Rico.

"Name - NIEVES NEGRON, RAFAEL - Single [REDACTED]"

"Address - [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]"

"Undercover agent of the Bayamon area. Truly a rat. He was a policeman before an undercover agent. He is being protected by special agents. His guard has been slowly reduced from six to four and two. Lately he has been seen driving his car. He lives with his parents. He sleeps at night at the Police Headquarters. He wears a gun belt. His finking has won him the scorn of the people.

"June 28, 1970"

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON is an Agent of the OI, POPR, who, during 1969, worked in an undercover capacity in MIRA and has provided information leading to criminal charges against several MIRA members including FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS.

"ANTONIO
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]"

"License plate [REDACTED] Ford LTD [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]"

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

Seized on October 10, 1970, was a document, the handwriting in which appears similar to that of ROBERTO TODD PAGAN, which states:

"Mr. GRIFFIS - works for the FBI

"A - American, white

"B - Tall approximately 6'

"C - Blond hair, crew cut

"D - Blue eyes

"E - 47-48 years old

"F - Aquiline nose

"G - Slim, athletic build

"H - Wore an electric blue suit

"When SANDRA asked him where he worked, he answered with the Federal Government, without giving any more details. He stated that he loved Puerto Rico, that he would like to stay here after he retired, and that we have a 'wonderful climate.' He drinks a lot - whiskey on the rocks. He smokes Winstons. He likes to play golf. He likes the movies.

"He has travelled extensively through Latin America. He spoke of Bolivia and his stay there, although he was very careful about stating why he went. He spoke of the different ethnic groups in Bolivia; of the percentage of white, Indian, and Mestizo population; how the climate changes from one region to another (which means he has travelled throughout Bolivia); that if they had a port economy would flourish; that there is poor

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

mining resources - silver is scarce, and the iron is of poor quality; and that their best mineral was tin. He stated that the Bolivian army was very disciplined. He also spoke well of the Bolivian police force. He minimized the importance of 'minority groups.'

"He advised that Argentina was the Latin American country that most impressed him; that it was a pleasure to associate with the Argentines, because they were very cultured, educated and polite, in the European fashion. He spoke highly of the President of Argentina, stating that he was a 'great man,' with excellent preparation and a lot of know-how.

"He mentioned, without giving any details, that he had been in Chile, Uruguay, Peru, and Mexico. He says that Latin America finally has stable governments of excellent composition (?).

"Mr. ALAMO

"A - Puerto Rican

"B - Black hair - greying

"C - Light brown eyes

"D - 40-42 years of age

"E - Thin latin type moustache, very well kept

"F - Approximately 5'9"

"G - Strong athletic build

"H - Wore a light grey suit

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 89

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"Mr. RAMIREZ

"A-Puerto Rican

"B - Darker than Alamo, but not Negro

"C - Shorter than Alamo

"D - Slim, skinny

"E - Black hair

"F - Dark eyes

"G - Wore glasses

"H - The prototype of the bureaucrat

"SANDRA advised that they did not say anything original all night. They only sat and listened and agreed with everything GRIFFIS said. They spent the rest of their time talking to Mrs. GRIFFIS. She said that both of them are the prototype of the 'apple polisher,' and acted very inferior and servile to the 'gringo.'

"Cars parked in front of the house

"A - A white Toyota

"B - A Chevrolet (about three or four years old)

"C - A Mercury Comet (new) blue

"GRIFFIS' wife

"A - She looks older than he

"B - Tall and very slim

"C- Hair dyed almost white ('ash blond')

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"D - Blue eyes

"E - Dry skin (like an iguana)

"In spite of this, SANDRA advised that she is an attractive woman.

"RAMIREZ' wife

"A - Blond

"B - Almost as tall as RAMIREZ, but looks taller

"C - Nice figure, well developed

"D - Skinny legs

"E - Brown eyes

"F - Flattened nose

"G - Buck teeth

"SANDRA advised that in spite of this she is not ugly.

"ALAMO's wife

"A - Light Negress

"B - Good figure

"C - Nice legs

"D - Young

"E - Average Height

"F - Wore a brown wig (auburn copper)

"G - Well made up

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

"SANDRA stated that she was a very elegant woman.

SJ 105-12315

F. Labor Movement

Seized on October 10, 1970, was an undated letter in the handwriting of OJEDA RIOS which states:

"Copy of a letter sent to PEYE

"First of all, I would like to give you a warm revolutionary greeting. Then I will get into the details and purpose of this letter.

"I have been thinking about the series of conversations we had during my stay there, during which you were telling me about the type of problems which the Puerto Rican labor movement is going through. All this came up when you were doing organizational work to develop the support of the labor force for the striking General Electric workers.

"Some of the problems which you were discussing were directly caused by the 'slow development of a proletarian conscience in the Puerto Rican laborer,' and here I agreed with you. We also discussed the great division which exists in the heart of the working classes and we concluded, very briefly, that the North American Unions in Puerto Rico are the cause of this division, and went into no further details.

"Going deeper into our conversation, which interests me greatly (because of its political implications), we consider that the Capitalist businesses and the Government, behind the scenes, give each other moral support, and the decision of the Government to intervene, supposedly in order to help the workers, is merely a demagogical tactic to slow down and stop the development of the Puerto Rican working class consciousness.

"The truth of the matter is that all this has made me sit and think about the political aspects of this situation and I am precisely in the

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SJ 105-12315

middle of this study.

"That is what this letter is about since you have ample knowledge of the workers movement in Puerto Rico. I would like to consult some things with you, and also ask some favors.

"Actually, I would like to know how you feel about the creation of a Puerto Rican Workers Party or Puerto Rican Laborers Party as a possible solution to the problems which you are confronting, now at the time when you want to create a unity between the Puerto Rican laborers and the striking workers at GE, and all other strikes in the future.

"As Marx stated 'The militant working class links closely economic movement and political activities' and that 'against the collectivity of classes in the proletariat, they can only act as a class, as a political party, opposite to all the older parties created by the dominating class.'

"What called my attention was the fact that concerning the problem at GE, the syndicate leaders were in a state of frustration - impotent against the scheming between the yellow unions who act as subsidiaries to the capitalist businesses, all businesses in general, and the colonial government.

"The need for an organization which would be able to cope with all this scheming was clearly seen - to channelize labor activities into a global support for striking workers. This would have to be done from a political standpoint and then do the impossible, elevate it from the political-economical standpoint - and this is what brings it to the solidarity movement. But this was doomed to failure. Naturally, experience was gained, and as you stated 'it has been proven that when the workers unite to act, panic strikes the enemy lines, and the development of class consciousness is hampered.'

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SJ 105-12315

"For this reason, I ask your opinion, and also because I believe in the creation of the Puerto Rican Workers Party as a necessary factor in the development in the armed struggle. I have not been able to even organize my thinking in this respect, but I will give you a general idea:

"1. We will only be able to gain a victory if we get the support and the participation of the working classes.

"2. The development of the armed struggle has to consolidate the basis of its action in order to have specific functions to prepare the armed struggle.

"3. An ideological basis will be developed in order to have something to fall back on during the process of reconstruction.

"4. An ideological basis will be developed in order to instill the basic structural changes.

"These are all things which we all know about and believe in, but how do you manage this when you do not have the ideological basis and the political basis necessary?

"Well as you can see, these are my questions and my suggestions. I hope you do not misunderstand and think that the armed struggle is no longer first in my mind. No! Definitely no! It is essential to develop the necessary techniques to mobilize our workers and gain their support in the armed struggle. We must use propaganda: our armed action must be more persevering, more daring, and more effective.

"I see the possibility that you, along with the other syndicate heads (radicals whom are trustworthy), can organize a Puerto Rican Workers Party for MIRA. People such as TUTU and some others that

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SJ 105-12315

you have mentioned would be perfect
for such a job.

"I ask that you think about these things with the depth that they merit, and I expect an answer as soon as you can answer me objectively. Up to now, I had not mentioned this to anybody, because I am still in the process of investigation, before I make any definite proposals.

"Please send me information concerning your movement of the labor forces in Puerto Rico, if at all possible, and ideological and theoretical information concerning the unions, both American and insular.

"That is all for now, and I hope to hear from you soon."

SJ 105-12315

IV. FINANCES

During the previous week, NPPR member JUANITA
OJEDA [REDACTED]

SJ T-7 on
March 19, 1970

A fund-raising social was scheduled for April 26, 1970, at the Casa Campestre, Calle 7, Parcela 9, Carretera Estatal 843, Saint Just, Puerto Rico, to solicit money for MIRA for the purchase of arms, ammunition, and explosives. The fund was organized by NPPR members utilizing the names "Daughters of Puerto Rico Association." At that time, TODD PAGAN and OJEDA RIOS were travelling throughout the Island soliciting funds for MIRA.

SJ T-7 on
March 27, 1970

NPPR members ISABELITA ROSADO, JUANITA OJEDA, and BLANCA CANALES were working independently soliciting money to help MIRA. One method utilized by them was to sell miscellaneous articles to individuals they contacted.

SJ T-7 on
April 2, 1970

In a letter seized on October 10, 1970, dated September 29, 1970, "ARCADIO" states to his comrades as follows:

"#6. Well that is all for now. This week I leave for SANDRA's place and later I'll be in Ponce. What is stopping me from going to the place near the park? I remind you that financially we are down to zero and that sure money comes via that route.

SJ 105-12315

V. PROPAGANDA

On July 10, 1970, SJ T-33 made available the following:

"MIRA - PRESS COMMUNICATION FOR IMMEDIATE PUBLICATION - MIRA

"THE ONLY THING WHICH CAN STOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO IS THE DEFEAT OF IMPERIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. THE NEWS THAT THE STRUGGLE HAS ENDED WILL BE SENT WITH THE LAST INVADING YANKEE WHO IS EXPELLED FROM OUR BEACHES.

"THE WAY TRACED BY THE LARES HEROES POINTS OUT THE HISTORIC ADVANCE OF OUR STRUGGLE. THE MARTYRS OF THE PONCE MASSACRE, THE JUST HANDS OF ELIAS BEAUCHAMP AND HIRAM ROSADO, THE "1950" REVOLUTION, AND THE EXAMPLE OF COURAGE AND SACRIFICE OF PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS POINT OUT THE WAY TO BE FOLLOWED.

"THE ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT (MIRA) WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT THE EXPLOITERS OF OUR COUNTRY.

"THE STORES WILL CONTINUE BURNING AS THEY BURNED LAST NIGHT, TUESDAY, JUNE 30, THIS YEAR. THE WOOLWORTH STORES LOCATED AT:

- 1) 120 WEST, 34th STREET
- 2) BROADWAY AND 79th STREET
- 3) 3rd AVENUE AND 86th STREET

AND THE GRAND UNION SUPERMARKET LOCATED AT

- 4) 342 EAST 86th STREET

"LIKEWISE, ANOTHER WOOLWORTH STORE WAS BURNED DOWN ON JUNE 6 THIS YEAR, IN THE HEART OF TIMES SQUARE.

SJ 105-12315

"MORE BOMBS WILL EXPLODE IN THE OFFICES
OF THE IMPERIALIST REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE LACKEYS.

"UNTIL VICTORY ALWAYS

"MIRA, JULY 1, 1970"

On July 31, 1970 [REDACTED] SJT-34
7/10/70
"EL Mundo,"
a daily Spanish language newspaper published in Puerto Rico,
made available the original of a Spanish language Special
Delivery letter postmarked July 31, 1970, at San Juan,
Puerto Rico, which was directed to "El Mundo." The letter
translated as follows:

"ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

"In order to take our
country away from us, first
they must take our lives."
PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS

"Fellow citizens:

"During the past few months, the members
of the Armed Revolutionary Independence Move-
ment (MIRA), have been preparing ourselves to
take further steps in the level of the struggle
for the Liberation of the Country and to in-
crease the armed combat against the imperialist
enemy. The revolutionary process for the
Liberation of the Puerto Rican people is more
firm and better developed than ever today.

"The numerous actions carried out recently
by MIRA in the United States ratify our decision
of taking our struggle to the empire itself,
asserting blows against the enterprises and
agencies which represent the domination and im-
perialist exploitation in Puerto Rico. The
Puerto Rican revolutionaries will decide what
areas are convenient for the struggle, forcing

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SJ 105-12315

the enemy to fight under our conditions.

"Last July, our members made fun of the strict surveillance on the part of the enemy, of the radar installations of the Federal Aviation Agency in the Palmer Section of Rio Grande, and gave a direct blow against that sensitive area of the Yankee armed forces communications. At dawn on July 30, we struck again. This time, our objectives were with Compulsory Military Service Boards in the towns of Humacao, Naguabo, Ceiba, Luquillo, and Guaynabo.

"There will be no pause or truce; the struggle does not stop. With the support of the people, we will go on until we attain victory.

"LONG LIVE FREE PUERTO RICO!

"WAR TO THE YANKEE!

"LIBERATION OR DEATH;

"ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT"

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SJ 105-12315

VI. AFFILIATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

A. MIRA's View of Other Puerto Rican Pro Independence Organizations

Contained in a notebook of FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS seized on October 10, 1970, in his handwriting, is a section entitled "Reaction of Independentist Sectors to the Armed Struggle," which states:

"In Puerto Rico, the struggle for independence has been tackled in an idealistic and romantic manner on one side and nationalist terms on the other. This has been so throughout our history up to the 50's decade in which no ideas and concepts were 'discovered' by the leaders of the struggle.

"As we have explained before, we fight for socialism and all it implies, but in order to think in socialism, we must attain independence.

"Our efforts are headed toward the development of armed struggle through intensive work of a political ideological character with the people, in order to develop conscience of the masses and transform the objectives of the struggle for formal independence into national liberation.

"We will keep a respectful attitude toward the other patriotic organizations because in the long run, they will facilitate our work.

"Our actions in the armed struggle caused a 'leadership crisis' in the MPI. It is our opinion that the armed action carried out by MIRA and CAL forced this situation.

"We believe this has been very positive, but we plan to create new situations in our future actions. We don't doubt that the militancy of the MPI will react positively, but we have

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SJ 105-12315

to see if some of its leaders will resist the pressure.

"As far as the PIP is concerned, they have gone through very positive changes. Socialism is part of their political program, but frankly, we do not trust the socialism of the PIP."

"Nevertheless, the PIP is being radicalized slowly. The PIP Youth, though confused ideologically, has a greater understanding of the problems of the national leaders. We are expecting an internal strike in the PIP.

"As far as the Nationalist Party is concerned, they have gone through a process of internal division. This was caused by the struggle between the revolutionary sector and the sector which adheres to the traditional dogmas."

"Although this process has not caused other consequences except those known perfectly by MIRA, the general results have been very positive for our struggle.

"The 'Partido Union Puertorriquena' as expected, has the role of the garbage dump where all the cowards, opportunists, and rightists 'independentists' are received. We must watch them closely because very possibly they will join the enemy placing their personal interest before the country's interests."

Partido Union Puertorriquena (Puerto Rican Union Party)(PUP) is a new independence party headed by Dr. ANTONIO J. GONZALEZ, a University of Puerto Rico professor, which was established on June 1, 1969, in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. During the charter convention, Dr. GONZALEZ proclaimed that his party was an independence movement to be carried out within a framework

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SJ 105-12315

of "close friendship with the United States" and one that will reject violence and Communism.

B. Black Panther Party (BPP)

Contained in the notebook of OJEDA RIOS seized on October 10, 1970, was the following notation in his handwriting:

"Black Panther Newspaper
3106 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California

Editor: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Production Manager: JOHN SEALE"

The Black Panther Newspaper is a periodic newspaper of the BPP.

C. NPPR

The following NPPR members are considered sympathetic with the cause of MIRA:

BLANCA CANALES

JUANITA OJEDA

JUAN JACA

JOSE MIGUEL CASTILLO VEGA

ANTONIO MOYA

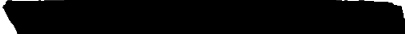
JOSE LUIS OTERO

ISABELITA ROSADO

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SJ T-7 on
April 9, 1970


17 105-12315

 JULIO SANCHEZ, President of the Municipal Junta of the NPPR, stated that the strength and integrity of the NPPR were being threatened by some NPPR members determined to assist MIRA. He stated that BLANCA CANALES for one, was raising money from small merchants by telling them that they would benefit by the destruction of large American-owned enterprises and that they should support financially those taking the risks.

SJ T-7 on


Within the NPPR, in the San Juan area, as of May, 1970, there were at least eight NPPR members who are actively supporting MIRA.

SJ T-7 on
May 26, 1970

 a meeting of the National Junta of the NPPR took place at its headquarters in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico. The majority of the meeting concerned itself with the proceeds of the NPPR sponsored picnic at St. Just, Puerto Rico, on November 26, 1970, a portion of which, unknown to the NPPR leaders, had been diverted to MIRA.

SJ T-7 on
June 16, 1970

D. Young Lords Party (YLP)

A letter seized on October 10, 1970, dated September 25, 1970, disclosed that MITIA states that on August 23, 1970, he advised ARCADIO that a letter was being prepared for delivery to the Young Lords.

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VII. CONNECTIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

In April, 1970, the MIRA organization was under great pressure stemming from the arrests and raids conducted by the POPR. ROBERTO TODD PAGAN and other MIRA leaders felt that the arrest of MIRA member FERDINAND TORRES TORRES, who had rented the hideout at 212 Comerio was imminent.

b7C
b7D [REDACTED] It was rumored among MIRA members that New York member MARTA SANCHEZ was dating a Cuban delegate from Montreal and that this Cuban was under severe criticism from his superiors [REDACTED]

SJ T-1 on December 17, 1970

Located in the notebook of OJEDA RIOS seized on October 10, 1970, in his handwriting was a section entitled:

"I. Analysis for the Development of a New Strategy and Tactics in effect at the end of 1969.

"When the relations between the revolutionary forces of our organization and the leftist and egocentrist sector were severed, a reevaluation of our struggle concept from the political, ideological, strategic, and tactical point of view was necessary.

"The reevaluation of our concepts was made considering the following points:

- (1) Internal reorganization
- (2) Revision of our positions
- (3) Setting up of strategic and tactical plans.

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SJ 105-12315

"For the purpose of reorganization, we started a superficial study of the militancy, its behaviors, responsibility assigned to each leader, and a limited political orientation to all the groups that remained with us. These tasks were placed in effect through the direct contact with all our groups.

"The assignment of tasks and responsibilities was of a subjective nature, due to the fact that we were not known as an organization and we were not allowed to play an active role in the political struggle of our country.

"On the other hand, we worked on the revision of our political positions, particularly those positions pertaining to the leftist sector which was represented by ANDRES. This revision contained the following points:"

"(1) Our position concerning the government of Cuba.

(2) Our position concerning all patriotic organizations, particularly the MPI.

(3) The objectives for the development of the armed action.

(4) Difference between the 'American' and the Puerto Rican' and our position in regard with the small bourgeoisie.

(5) Our position concerning the ideological and moral factors that would be implemented in our organization.

"The revision of the five points listed above, resulted in the following conclusions:

SJ 105-12315

"Cuba is a revolutionary country which is constantly being attacked by imperialism. It has always given its assistance to all movements that struggle for liberation, particularly those who have won the support of their own people, to wit: Vietnam (South and North), Portuguese Colonies, Argelia, Congo B and K, Korea, Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Argentina, Puerto Rico, etc.

"For many reasons we decided to tighten our friendly relations with the Cuban revolution and that we would support them in case of aggression by imperialism. By the same token, we would try to get moral and material support for our cause from the Cuban government. But it was decided that under no circumstances should we depend on foreign support, and on the contrary we should develop our struggle based on our own efforts and resources.

"What was our position regarding our relation with other patriotic organizations in Puerto Rico, particularly the MPI? We made an error when we attached the MPI and other patriotic organizations through our magazine "CUADERNOS." As a result our own membership was disgusted and we were isolated."

"We fight for Communism.

"Our analysis led us to the following position: We will not attack any of the patriotic organizations. We will develop our struggle based on the soundest revolutionary ideas; forcing with our actions, a definition from the independentist sector."

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SJ 105-12315

Documents seized on October 10, 1970, revealed that on or about September 3, 1970, a letter was prepared by FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS with the assistance of "BENJAMIN" which was delivered to "ROSA" for delivery through "ANA" to the Communist Party of Cuba. Although seized documents do not contain the complete text of the letter, the following points contained in that letter are discernible from seized documents:

In a letter of ARCADIO dated September 4, 1970, he states:

"In the second paragraph of the document in question, the objectives of same are ennumerated and I quote:

"1. To furnish the means and ways by which we will smuggle out comrades that must leave the country, as was agreed upon by you and the comrade who represented us at your last meeting.

"2. To know if you wish to establish contact with 'M.'

"3. To submit a brief report to you concerning the struggle within Puerto Rico.

"4. To clarify some points which might cause worry to you.

"5. To let you know our official standpoint on some points of common interest.

"The last agreement reached by the National Directorate concerning the steps to take regarding relations between MIRA and Cuba were:

"That comrade ANA would be instructed to make the pertinent arrangements for a New York

SJ 105-12315

contact in M and that comrade BENJAMIN would go there personally to talk to the Cubans."

Subsequently in this letter, ARCADIO implies that the letter to the Cuban Communist Party requested that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Government of Cuba analyzed the political, social, and economic aspects of the pro-independence struggle in Puerto Rico.

In a letter dated September 10, 1970, in the handwriting of OJEDA RIOS, it is stated:

"On Thursday, August 20, I had commented to Comrade BENJAMIN the need to send a letter to the Cubans concerning the basis to the issue concerning the transfer of comrades to Cuba and the problem of M."

Subsequently in this letter, OJEDA RIOS states that comrade BENJAMIN did not like the end of the letter.

"I asked his reasons for this and he replied concretely that he did not like the part 'our actions against the gusana.' I answered that what I really was trying to tell the child was that 'even though they have not been able to fulfill their international duties, we, inspite of our shortcomings and real limitations, are willing to fulfill our international obligations to the Cuban people (I did not say Cuban Government). He reacted positively to this explanation and did not disagree on anything else."

Thereafter, OJEDA RIOS states:

Nevertheless, I wish to make something clear. According to your interpretations

WJ 105-12315

of my letter, I express the fact that 'the functionaries of MINREX are better qualified than we Puerto Ricans to prepare a report which analyzes the political, social, and economic aspects of our struggle.'

"I consider such a statement an insult to the Puerto Rican people, its capability, and its sense of dignity. I did not say that in my letter. What I did say was that due to our clandestine condition, we do not have the means at hand to prepare this type of 'classic' report. By means, it is implicit I am referring to economic material for reference purposes, etc. for that classic report. That the national directorate is too busy fighting and struggling to 'waste time' in that at this moment. I do not like the idea of having reactionary ideas such as the ones comrade Arcadio interprets in my letter attributed to me.

~~"That I have told the Cubans, once the letter has been read a second time and its real meaning seen, the following:~~

"1. That we do not need them to continue this struggle.

"2. That they have not been able to meet their internationalist obligations.

"3. That solidarity and true internationalism is priceless.

"4. That we labor with a sounder and less selfish spirit.

"5. That in spite of having started from scratch, we have made progress.

"6. That we are conscious of the fact that

3J 105-12315

they have not met their obligations.

"7. That in spite of everything, we have given them a sound and honest opportunity to rectify their attitude.

"8. And that the way towards this rectification is being blocked."

In a letter dated September 20, 1970, ARCADIO states:

"May I remind you that in that letter, the weapons were asked for and that actions against the 'Gusanera' were mentioned and it was addressed to the Political Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party."

Subsequently in this letter, ARCADIO states:

"Our problem with other Puerto Rican organizations is just that - Our Problem. We will solve them here in Puerto Rico in the revolutionary way we best see fit, between the organizations involved. The Cubans have nothing to say in this matter and we do not have to let them in on them. In any case, should they stick their nose in, they would probably make things worse."

In a letter dated September 25, 1970, signed "ITIA", the writer states:

"1) On the 26th when C showed me the document for the first time, I gave him my opinion.

"a) That the weapons mentioned in the document were not of a sufficient number.

"He answered that he knew that, but that 'I can make a mistake.'"

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Subsequently in this letter he states:

"c) That I do not believe the reference made to the Cuban organization in exile should be included the way it was worded. Concerning this, I explained that the purpose was to criticize their past attitudes towards us and the struggle."

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87 105-12315

VIII. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Arrest of MIRA members

On June 8, 1970, the Grand Jury of the County of New York returned Indictment Number 296 of 1970, against CARLOS FELICIANO. The indictment contained 10 counts as follows:

One count Arson - First Degree;

Two counts of Reckless Endangerment in the First Degree;

Six counts of Possession of Weapons and Dangerous Instruments and Appliances;

One count Violation of Section 322(B) General Business Law Explosives and Combustibles.

"The subject was arraigned on June 10, 1970, by Judge GERALD P. CULKIN; he was represented by Attorney FRANK ORTIZ; he plead not guilty; bail was set at \$150,000; and FELICIANO was remanded to custody in lieu of bail.

On September 15, 1970, FELICIANO's application for reduction of bail was denied by Judge MITCHELL D. SCHWERTZER.

A habeas corpus hearing regarding FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS was held in the Superior Court of Puerto Rico, Bayamon, Puerto Rico, on October 16-17, 1970, before Judge EDWIN MIRANDA GRILLASCA. As a result of this hearing MIRANDA GRILLASCA reduced bond from \$100,000 to \$12,000. This bond was posted by WILLIBALDO OJEDA RIOS, brother of FILIBERTO, and consisted in \$4,000 in cash and \$8,000, property guarantee. OJEDA RIOS was released from custody at 4:30 pm, October 17, 1970. A preliminary hearing in his case was scheduled for October 27,

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1970.

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Office
of Intelligence, Police of
Puerto Rico, Hato Rey,
Puerto Rico, on
October 17, 1970

On October 27, 1970, FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS failed to appear for a show cause hearing and in connection with charges against him for violation of the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico. Bond on FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS was ordered forfeited and presiding judge ordered future bond placed at \$100,000.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ Supra,
October 27, 1970

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SJ 105-12315

B. Federal Prosecution of MIRA Members

By letter dated January 8, 1971, BLAS C. HERRERO, JR., Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, requested that JULIO MORALES, U. S. Attorney, authorize prosecution of the following MIRA members for violation of Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073, Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution, in connection with local charges involving the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico and Conspiracy:

JUAN ANTONIO CASTILLO AYALA

WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS

FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS

ADELINA RAMIREZ DE FONSECA

CARLOS FONSECA ORTA

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SJ 105-12315

C. Results of FBI Laboratory Examinations

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: FBI, San Juan

Date: April 6, 1970
FBI File No. 105-202663
Lab. No. D-700316091 KU

MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA
REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED
REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)
(MIRA), aka;
IS - PRN

Specimens received 3/16/70

Q123 Envelope postmarked "SAN JUAN PR PM 3 MAR 1970,"
bearing typewritten address "Sr. Manager Hotel LA CONCHA
Avenida Ashford Condado San Juan, P.R."

Q124 Accompanying carbon copy of one-page typewritten letter
beginning "Como ese Corporacion trate de cobrarle....,"
and ending "MIRA"

Also Submitted: Photocopy of one-page typewritten letter on
Puerto Rico Hotel Association letterhead
stationery dated 3/5/70

Result of examination:

Due to an absence of sufficient detail in the Q124
carbon copy and the limited nature of the questioned typewriting
on the Q123 envelope, it was not possible to specifically
classify the questioned typewriter or typewriters used to
prepare these items. The questioned typewriting on these
documents appears to resemble a pica style of type, measuring
10 characters to the horizontal inch, manufactured abroad
and used on some Smith-Corona typewriters. Since type from
this particular manufacturer is widely used on European
typewriters, it is also possible that the typewriter or
typewriters which prepared Q123 and Q124 might be of European
manufacture.

The submitted evidence was photographed and will be
returned separately. The "Also Submitted" material is retained.

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**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535**

To: FBI, San Juan (105-12315)

Date: April 16, 1970

Re: MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA
REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED
REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)
(MIRA), aka;
IS - PRN

FBI File No. 105-202663

Lab. No. D-700323106 KU

Specimens received 3/24/70

- Q125 Three-page letter dated 2/3/70 written in Spanish language, beginning "Hugo & Ruben..." and signed "Joaquin"
- Q126 One-page letter written in Spanish language, dated "26 de enero de 1969," beginning "Hugo: Tenia la personal..." and signed "Alberto"
- Q127 Sheet of torn paper bearing handwriting in the Spanish language beginning "Instrucciones..."
- Kc4 Photocopy of "Historial Personal" bearing known handwriting of [REDACTED]
- Kc5 Photocopy of "Notificacion De Nombramiento Y Juramento" bearing known hand printing and signatures of [REDACTED]

Result of examination:

Due to the limited nature of the available known material, it could not be determined definitely whether any of the questioned handwriting on Q125 and Q126 was or was not prepared by either of the writers of Kc4 or Kc5. This is particularly true of Kc5 which is almost entirely hand printing and cannot be adequately compared with the questioned handwriting submitted.

The submitted evidence was photographed and Q125 through Q127 are returned herewith. Specimens Kc4 and Kc5 are retained.

REPORT
of the



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Juan (105-12315)
MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA
Re: REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED
REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)
(MIRA), aka Movimiento Independencia
Rebelde Armado (Armed Rebel Independence
Movement) (MIRA) IS - PRN

Date: April 22, 1970
FBI File No. 105-202663
Lab. No. CR-13467 KJ

Specimens received 3/9/70

- Q1 Typewritten letter, dated 12/11/69, on white paper, 8½ x 11 inches. Letter begins: "Querido José: He estado por escribirte desde..."
- Q2 Typewritten letter, dated 1/10/70, on white paper, 8½ x 11 inches. Letter begins: "Mi adorado amor: Hace tres días que no te veo y me parecen tres siglos."
- Q3 Two-page handwritten letter, dated "SJ.26," on white paper, 8½ x 11 inches. Page one begins: "Estimado José, Viejo, ya es hora de que empieces a darnos..." Page two begins: "de película, ya tu Sabes como son esas..."
- Q4 Sheet of white paper, approximately 5 x 6 ¾ inches, containing drawing of a heart pierced by an arrow, and containing the words "TE AMO."
- Q5 Typewritten letter on torn white paper, approximately 7 x 7 inches. Letter begins: "Querido compadre: Unas palabras para decelearle feliz navidad junto..."
- Q6 Handwritten letter dated 12/11/69, on lined, white paper punched with five holes, 8 x 10½ inches. Letter begins: "Querida Pepa, Espero todos se encuentren bien por alla."
- Q7 Handwritten letter dated 12/25/69, on torn, white paper, 8½ x 11 inches. Salutation partially missing. Letter begins: "Mami me dijo hace tiempo que te escribiera..."
- Q8 Document consisting of three sheets of yellow, lined paper, 3 x 12½ inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides of first two pages and one side of third page.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ (continued on next page)

Portion of second page missing. First page headed: "Para: Hugo y Ruben," and begins "(1) Reciban un abrazo de hermanos y un saludo." Second page begins: "dinero apuntando con el dedo para esto..." Third page begins: "el de objetivos a atacar en P.R."

- Q9 Two-page handwritten letter, dated "San Juan (?)," on white paper, 8½ x 11 inches. Page one begins: "Viejo, Dicen siempre que más vale..." Page two, second line, begins: "a caso en cuanto recibas la presente..."
- Q10 Sheet of torn, white, spiral notebook paper, approximately 5 x 7 inches, containing handwritten numerical entries on one side. First complete line reads: "54459 87270 63304 24333."
- Q11 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing handwritten numerical entries on both sides. First line begins: "25959 87278 15108 00462."
- Q12 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing handwritten numerical entries on both sides. First line begins: "(?)5959 84260 70005 19362."
- Q13 Sheet of torn, white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches. First line begins: "15101971018..."
- Q14 Fragments of handwritten communication on white, lined, spiral-notebook paper, approximately 6 x 9½ inches. Legible portion at top left: "esta carta,... de navidades... y felicitarte..."
- Q15 Fragments of handwritten communication on white, lined, spiral-notebook paper, approximately 7½ x 10½ inches. Legible portion at middle left: "está de acuerdo... será bueno para Elisa... negocio ella podrá..."
- Q16 Fragments of handwritten communication on plain white paper, approximately 7 inches wide (length undeterminable), with writing on both sides. Top left of one side: "704 704." Top of reverse side: "Creo que hemos..."
- Q17 Handwritten document on plain white paper, 8½ x 14 inches. Legible entry: "SWAN 500 \$520 TRANSCEIVER."
- Q18 Handwritten document on plain white paper, 8½ x 14 inches. Legible entry: "28-10 21-5 14-20 7-40..."

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- Q19 Sheet of torn, white paper, 5 3/4 x 7 3/4 inches, containing portions of legible writing. At top right: "20673 04058."
- Q20 Sheet of torn, white paper, 8 1/2 x 14 inches, containing portions of legible writing. One legible portion:

"1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	"
..	-	--	---	
- Q21 Fragment of white paper, 3 1/2 x 3 inches, containing notation: "1028-25973-72710."
- Q22 Sheet of white paper, 8 1/2 x 14 inches, containing notations on both sides. Notation at top right of one side: "Fulano urge accion urbana proxima contra."
- Q23 Sheet of white paper, 8 1/2 x 14 inches, containing sketch of radio equipment, two microphones, one set of earphones, and a telegraph key at top of page.
- Q24 Sheet of white paper, 8 1/2 x 14 inches, containing handwritten entries. Entries along right edge of one side: "E. C 1 2- 3. 4-... 5..."
- Q25 Sheet of torn, white, lined, spiral-notebook paper, 8 1/2 x 11 inches. Top of page: "07716 34800 33267 22702 01482."
- Q26 Fragments of white paper, size undeterminable (fragments are approximately 9 x 4 inches and 4 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches), containing handwritten entries. At top of larger fragment: "1 planta C.B." Along left side of smaller fragment: numbers from "13" to "20" with a line drawn under number "18."
- Q27 Sheet of torn, white paper, 8 1/2 x 14 inches, containing partially legible writing and drawings. Legible, in middle: "PUESTO GAS" with a rectangle drawn around the two words.
- Q28 Sheet of torn, white paper, 8 1/2 x 14 inches, containing partially legible writing and drawings. Legible portion: "ESTO REQUIERE UN TRABAJO DE POR SI SOLO..."
- Q29 Sheet of torn, white paper, 7 x 8 1/2 inches, containing handwritten entries. First legible entry: "URGEME ESTABLECER CONTACTO PROXIMO..."

Page 3
CR-13467 KJ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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- Q30 Sheet of torn, white paper, approximately 7 x 11 inches, containing partially legible handwritten entries. At top: "TEXTO INTEGRO... MENSAJE QUE..."
- Q31 Two-page handwritten document on white paper, 8½ x 12½ inches. Top of first page: ("Mensaje #5 Compañero Gilberto #1) Saludos." Top of second page: "Si notas chequeo, No lo rompas..."
- Q32 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing handwritten entry: "Lunes 5 de enero de 1970 Juanito."
- Q33 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing sketch and handwritten entries on both sides. Writing under sketch: "RAQUEL. SALUDOS Y FELICIDADES..."
- Q34 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing handwritten entries on both sides. Legible entry in middle of front page: "el CIC en hacer gestion..."
- Q35 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing handwritten entries on both sides. Legible portions on front side: "SAREAS... OCHO-... BIEN. NUEVE..."
- Q36 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, with no legible writing.
- Q37 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, with legible entry on front side: "\$100. \$10."
- Q38 Sheet of torn, white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing sketch of man's head.
- Q39 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing portions of barely legible writing. Near middle of page: "thousser... Louis Althousser..."
- Q40 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 5 x 7½ inches, containing handwritten entries. At top of page: "ENERO
7 - '70."
- Q41 Sheet of torn, white paper, 8½ x 14 inches, containing names which are encircled, with lines between names. Names: "Gloria," "Teresa," and "Gilberto" appear in one chain.

Page 4

CG-13467 KJ

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- Q42 Four fragments of a piece of lined, holed, spiral-notebook paper, containing handwritten diagram. Names "Hugo," "Leyla," "Gloria," and "Teresa" appear on one fragment, "Archie," "Ramon," "Joaquin," and "Demerio" appear on another fragment, "Juan," "Gloria," and "Al..." appear on another fragment, and entries "P.R... Ajusti-
ciamie... Sabotage:..." appear on final fragment.
- Q43 Torn sheet of lined paper, approximately 8½ x 11 inches, containing handwritten notations. Near middle of page: "BE 7-23".
- Q44 Sheet of white paper, 8½ x 14 inches, containing handwritten entries on both sides. Legible portion near top of page: "#8 Debes de tomar las siguientes ... faltar a ninguna..."
- Q45 Sheet of white paper, 8½ x 14 inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion at top right: "alar-
mistas y exageradas... conozco tu buen juicio) piensa..."
- Q46 Torn sheet of white paper, 8½ x 14 inches, containing handwritten notations. One legible portion: "1 casa...
1 apartamento... 1 finca..."
- Q47 Torn sheet of white paper, 8½ x 13 inches, containing handwriting on both sides. Line near top of page: "fuegos
libertadqes del pueblo Puertorriqueño..."
- Q48 Torn fragments of sheet of white paper, 5½ x 8½ inches, with handwritten entries on both sides. Top line: "1)
entregar nombres y direcciones..."
- Q49 Torn fragments of sheet of white paper, 5½ x 8½ inches, with handwritten entries on one side. Top line: "1)
Posibilidad esconder carro."
- Q50 Torn sheet of white paper, 5½ x 7 3/4 inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Top lines: "Cro. Gilberto:
Saludos revolucionarios...#1) Recibí hoy dos cartas..."
- Q51 Torn fragment of white paper, approximately 5½ x 7 inches, with handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion about middle of page: "en la Zona del Condado. Mientras
se suceden..."

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- Q52 Fragment of lined, white paper, approximately 5 x 3 inches, containing notation: "Bct B... 29207."
- Q53 Torn fragment of lined, white, spiral-notebook paper, approximately 3½ x 9 inches with handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion near middle: "Alberto... Pepito... podría ser... Que pien..."
- Q54 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately 1½ x 2 ¾ inches, with legible writing: "...cepcion... a. políticos."
- Q55 Torn fragment of lined, spiral-notebook paper, approximately 1½ x 3 ¾ inches, containing words "DINA-Y."
- Q56 Torn fragment of white paper, approximately 3½ x 3 inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near middle: "conocimiento de... que un ... sabemos que."
- Q57 Torn fragment of white, spiral-notebook paper, approximately 5 x 1½ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near middle: "a preguntar que tenía en la."
- Q58 Torn fragment of white paper, approximately 3 ¼ x 1 ¼ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion of top line: "con Jr. para entregarle."
- Q59 Torn fragment of white paper, approximately 2 x 1 inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion: "...cción ... conda..."
- Q60 Torn fragment of white paper, approximately one inch square, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion: "para... regresar... enero"
- Q61 Torn sheet of white paper, 7 x 8½ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near center of page: "de esa celula realizatdon las..."
- Q62 Torn sheet of white paper, 7 x 8½ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near center of page: "el arresto de cuatro... armas y equipo de..."
- Q63 Torn sheet of white paper, 7 x 8½ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near center of page: "De ahora en adelante no podra..."

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- Q66 Torn sheet of white paper, 7 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near center of page: "conocera el contacto con el..."
- Q68 Torn sheet of paper, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 14 inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion in center of page: "llevar a cabo una..."
- Q69 Torn sheet of paper, approximately 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten entries. Legible portion near top: "en estos momentos con..."
- Q67 Torn sheet of white paper, 7 x 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten notations. Legible portion near middle: "aunque fueron pocas, representan un atraso en"
- Q68 Torn sheet of white paper, approximately 7 x 8 inches, containing handwritten notations. Only legible portion near top: "...tra organiz..icion nac... ajos de nu..."
- Q69 Torn sheet of white paper, approximately 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at top, 3 inches wide at bottom, and of length 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Legible portions along left margin: "de El Movi... mas (MIRA) ... de ... Elect..."
- Q70 Torn sheet of white paper, approximately 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide at top, 3 inches wide at bottom, and of length 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Legible portions near top right: "...REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMA...AL PUEBLO--"
- Q71 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line of text: "Nuestros combatentes han realizado acciones armadas."
- Q72 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line of text: "El pasado domingo 8 de febrero 1970, combatientes de..."
- Q73 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line reads: "El pasado domingo 8 de febrero, combatientes de MIRA realizaron."

Page 7
CR-13467 KJ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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- Q74 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line of text: "El pasado domingo 6 de febrero combatientes de."
- Q75 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. First line reads: "Los imperialistas tendrán que cuidarse bien las."
- Q76 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. First line reads: "En nuestro segundo mensaje al pueblo, - publicado a."
- Q77 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line reads: "Combatientes de MIRA continuan golpeando."
- Q78 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line reads: "En solidaridad con los obreros en huelga."
- Q79 Two-page document of lined, white paper, each page 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on one side of each page. First line of page one reads: "La posibilidad a enfrentarse (remainder crossed out)."
- Q80 Two-page document of lined, white paper, each page 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches. First page blank, second page contains handwritten entries on both sides. Top line: "El pasado domingo 8 de febrero del 1970, combatientes de MIRA."
- Q81 Two-page document of lined, white paper, each page 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on one side of each page. First line of page one reads: "El pasado domingo 8 de febrero de 1970, comba-"
- Q82 Sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, 6 3/4 x 8 1/4 inches, containing handwritten entries on both sides. Legible portion of first line reads: "Condiciones Minimas para."
- Q83 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten entries on both sides. First line reads: "El sistema imperialista que subyuga y."

Page 8
CA-13467 KJ

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- Q84 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. First line reads: "El pasado domingo 8 de febrero, combatientes de MIRA."
- Q85 Sheet of lined, white paper, 6 5/8 x 8 3/8 inches, containing handwritten notations on both sides. Legible portion on one side contains words "Estado burgues" enclosed in a rectangle, with a box-like drawing underneath and to the right of these words.
- Q86 Torn fragments of white sheet of paper, approximately 6 5/8 inches wide, length undeterminable. Legible words at top left: "El pasado domingo 8 de febrero... realizamos... finalmente... empresas General..."
- Q87 Torn sheet of white, spiral-notebook paper, roughly triangular in shape, approximately 3 1/2 inches wide and 4 1/2 inches long, containing handwritten entries. Top line: "Te recuerdas de la anecdotita."
- Q88 Torn fragment of white, lined paper, approximately 3 x 6 1/2 inches, containing barely legible handwriting on one side. Third line ends "de esos" and the following line ends with a crossed-out word, followed by "despues."
- Q89 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, roughly of parallelogram shape, 3 1/4 x 3 1/2 inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. Top line: "...d de resolver; Cheo de..."
- Q90 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, 3 1/2 x 4 1/2 inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. Legible part near center: "obreras... Grande en..." with words on subsequent lines crossed out.
- Q91 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately 5 1/4 x 3 3/4 inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Partially legible line near center: "por supuesta relación a."
- Q92 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately 5 1/4 x 3 3/4 inches, containing handwritten entries on one side: partially legible portion at center right: "...os de la... en Rio Grande,... derechas."

Page 9
CR-13467 KJ

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- Q93 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion of top line: "y consideramos accessio."
- Q94 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion: "de diciembre... como medido."
- Q95 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion: "másaúnlarev... más a los enemigos"
- Q96 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately $4\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. Legible portion: "pueblo. El ap... lo sintelizó... 'Esta sobre el tapete...'"
- Q97 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately $4\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. Legible portion: "nos adjudicamos... detallaron el... York, una de las cuales..."
- Q98 Torn fragment of lined, white paper, approximately $4\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten notations on one side. Legible portion: "...nes 5 de febrero del 1970... a cabo exitosamente la colo..."
- Q99 Torn fragment of white paper, roughly parallelogram in shape, with sides approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten "...jadores de la Industria."
- Q100 Torn, triangular-shaped piece of white paper, approximately 3 inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches at widest point, containing legible handwriting, "Cagey."
- Q101 Torn fragment of plain white paper, approximately 3 inches square, containing handwritten numbers "723-" and "23-7."
- Q102 Torn piece of white paper, approximately $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide and $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches at highest point, containing typewritten text on both sides. Sentence in middle of one side: "Esta radioemisora ha sido tomada por..."

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- Q103 Torn, irregularly shaped piece of white paper, approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ x $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side: "distingu... es otra... proceso las... pesos que he..."
- Q104 Torn, triangular piece of white paper, approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten "...dic 1969."
- Q105 Torn strip of white paper of length 11 inches and width varying between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on both sides. At top of back side: "29 de enero 1970... de emprender vuelo."
- Q106 Torn piece of white paper, $1\frac{7}{8}$ x $3\frac{7}{8}$ inches, containing typewriting on both sides. Top portion of one side: "en maguinita o mi... ro de compatriotas..."
- Q107 Torn piece of white paper $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, with length between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 inches, containing handwritten entries: "Compañero Ignacio: #1) Saludos, Acabo..."
- Q108 Torn piece of white paper, 2 x 4 inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Top two lines: "...iente docenas de... hoteles turistic..."
- Q109 Torn piece of white paper, approximately 4 x $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Writing at center, right margin: "en el hotel Americana... Racket Club... Hotel H.S."
- Q110 Torn piece of white paper, 2 x $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Top two lines: "el grueso de... eiraerino ya..."
- Q111 Torn piece of white paper, $1\frac{3}{4}$ x $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion near center "...et Club."
- Q112 Irregularly shaped piece of white paper, approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ x 3 inches. Only legible writing: "Morro... Nueva York ...ucio selec..."
- Q113 Irregularly shaped piece of white paper, approximately 3 x $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Only legible portion: "fabricando los... mi participación... sobrarán ocasiones... 15. Es posible que..."

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Q114 Irregularly shaped piece of white paper, approximately 3 1/2 inches at widest point and 5 1/2 inches at longest point. Only legible portion is "Nueva York" at one top.

Q115 Piece of cardboard, white on one side and gray on reverse side, 8 inches long, approximately 2 1/2 inches wide, containing handwritten entries. Top entry: "HASTA LA 2:30."

Q116 Torn piece of plain white paper, approximately 5 x 2 1/2 inches, with barely legible handwriting on one side: "Paseñ... Rio Piedras Heights... P.R."

Q117 White, lined 5 x 8-inch card with handwritten entries on both sides. Entries at top of one side consist of letters "A" through "R" with numbers underneath. First six numbers are: "14 24 8 18 2 13."

Q118 Business card, 3 1/2 x 2 inches, with illegible writing on reverse side. Card names [REDACTED] San Juan Broadcasting Corp.

Q119 [REDACTED] (in two pieces), lined, white, spiral-notebook paper containing handwritten entries on one side. Left piece is approximately 6 x 3 inches; right piece is approximately 3 1/2 x 8 1/2 inches. Document headed "Puerto Rico, 10 de Febrero de 1970" and begins: "Estimado S.R."

Q120 Top portion of white envelope, in two pieces, with combined width of 6 1/2 inches and of length from 1 to 1 1/2 inches. Postmark is "Cayey, PR, PM Jul 26 1968 00633." Return address is "To: [REDACTED]"

Q121 Piece of white paper, 8 1/2 x 2 3/4 inches, containing handwritten entries on one side. Legible portion: "No pudeterminar el cifrado."

Q122 Piece of white paper, 8 1/2 x 2 1/2 inches, containing handwritten entries. Document dated "18 de febrero 70" and is addressed to "Compañero Ignacio:"

Result of examination:

Decryption of cipher text encountered in specimens through Q122 set forth below.

Page 12
PR-15467 KJ

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Q1 (message in secret writing).

House on the mountain could not be. Trying another one near place (last word garbled - precise decryption: ~~_____~~).

Q2 (decrypted portion contained in secret writing at bottom of page).

There is another woman lawyer recommended for work in the organization. Thinking of forming a cell with her. I have not spoken with... (remainder of message apparently on another document).

Q4 Belas. What do you think? We shall succeed!
Raquel.

Q6 (secret writing message is both plain text and cipher text).

Code includes CH, LL, Y, and N. I begin: Demetrio sent Friday. The end. Details follow in message 3. Will be sent tomorrow. Carmelo.

Q9 (Message in secret writing).

OTC
Badly made tunnel with weapons was discovered. Abel says there is a search for you in Morovis by 80 agents. He thinks ~~_____~~ has private plane in case of need. Vision Mom (?). Disembarkation failed. Retreated to El Yunque. Stranded for lack of food and medicines.

Q10 Eight - I hope you are fine. Nine - Next time, full details of my transfer. Ten - Take care.

Q11 One - I am fine, in Naguabo. Two - Learned of action in New York. Three - Shortly will send mailing address. Four - Necessary to know how you are. Five - Must succeed for ~~_____~~ (word garbled - possibly michella). Six - Communique must go out. Seven - I am preparing to contact uncle for money and ~~_____~~ (word garbled - possibly rifle).

Q12 Describe to me ~~_____~~ box number ~~_____~~
Puerto Rico. Regards.

Q13 Talk to Susin and Gina about possibility of hiding at their house. Do not write your real address on the envelope. Reply urgent. Independence or death; we shall vanquish! Hugo.

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Q22 Qur (?) Two - Week Hotels necessary next encounter (?).

Q117 Ask Gladys for coffee.

Specimens Q1 through Q122 are being retained until completion of document examination and any necessary translation. You will be advised of any subsequent decryptions or other information derived from results of document examination.

REPORT
of the

LABORATORY

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

San Juan (105-12315)

Date:

August 26, 1970

FBI File No.

105-202663

Lab. No.

D-700812028 KU

MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA
REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED
EVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)
(MIRA); IS - PRN; ROBERTO JOSE TODD PAGAN;
SM - PRN

Specimens received

3/11/70

- Q158 Envelope postmarked "SAN JUAN, PR GPO Jul 3 AM,"
bearing handwritten address "Periodico El Mundo
Ave. F.D. Roosevelt #383 Hato Rey, P.R."
- Q159 Envelope postmarked "SAN JUAN PR JUL 31 PM,"
bearing handwritten address "Prensa Unida Internacional
Ave. Ponce de Leon #164 Puerta de Tierra, San Juan"
- Q160 Envelope postmarked "SAN JUAN, PR 1B 1970 AM 31
JUL," bearing handwritten address [REDACTED]
Prensa Unida Int. Ponce de Leon #164 Puerta de
Tierra San Juan"

ALSO SUBMITTED: Mimeographed letter in Spanish language

Results of examination:

It was concluded specimens Q158 through Q160
were all prepared by the same writer. It was further
concluded this individual also wrote Q1 and Q2 in the
[REDACTED] case.

Due in some cases to the limited comparability
of the material under examination and in other cases to
the presence of unexplained variations, it could not be
determined definitely whether Q158 through Q160 and Q3

Page 1

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b7C

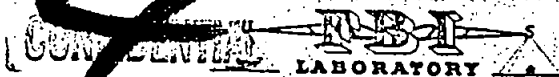
through Q6 in the [REDACTED] case were all prepared by the same writer. However, significant similarities were observed in this material which indicate the probability it was all prepared by the same writer.

The submitted evidence was photographed and will be returned separately together with the "ALSO SUBMITTED" material.

Page 2

D-700812028 KU

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REPORT
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

To: FBI, San Juan (105-12315)

Date:

April 6, 1970

Re: MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA

FBI File No.

105-202663

REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS (ARMED REVOLUTIONARY
INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MIRA), aka;
IS - PRN

Lab. No.

D-700324005 KU

Specimens received 3/23/70

Q128 Five-page handwritten letter written in a foreign language beginning "Espero todo siga bien..." and signed "Gilberto"

Q129 Seven-page handwritten letter written in foreign language dated "3 de Feb. 1970" and signed "Ignacio"

b7C K6

POD Form 1093, Application For Post Office Box, bearing purported known handwriting of one [REDACTED]

Results of examination:

Due to the extremely limited nature of the available known material, it could not be determined definitely whether the questioned handwriting on Q128 and Q129 was or was not prepared by the writer of K6.

The submitted evidence was photographed and is returned herewith.

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XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXX

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☐ Deletions were made pursuant to the exemptions indicated below with no segregable material available for release to you.

Section 552

Section 552a

☐ (b)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(A)

☐ (d)(5)

☐ (b)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(B)

☐ (j)(2)

☐ (b)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(C)

☐ (k)(1)

☐ (b)(7)(D)

☐ (k)(2)

☐ (b)(7)(E)

☐ (k)(3)

☐ (b)(7)(F)

☐ (k)(4)

☐ (b)(4)

☐ (b)(8)

☐ (k)(5)

☐ (b)(5)

☐ (b)(9)

☐ (k)(6)

☐ (b)(6)

☐ (k)(7)

- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to the subject of your request or the subject of your request is listed in the title only.

- ☐ Documents originated with another Government agency(ies).

Pages contain information furnished by another Government agency(ies).

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4 Pages were not considered for release as they are duplicative of 5J115-12315-518

Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s): (vll, 6)

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

5J115-12315-662 pgs. 136, 137, 138 + 139

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SJ 105-12315

D. Travel

67D
FELIX RAUL CRUZ DIAZ, who was in New York City,
[REDACTED]

SJ T-7 on
May 26, 1970

At approximately 2 pm, on May 18, 1970, MARTA SANCHEZ departed New York City via Eastern Airlines, enroute to San Juan.

[REDACTED] 67C
[REDACTED] 67D
to
SA ANTHONY D. LEONE
on May 19, 1970

On June 14, 1970, MARTA SANCHEZ returned to New York City from Puerto Rico, and thereafter was in contact with AVELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO.

SJ T-8 on
June 17, 1970

SJ 105-12315

IX. APPENDIX

A. Section I b7C

Within Section I, references are made to documents seized or located at [REDACTED] and 212 Calle Comerio. These refer to documents of MIRA seized by the OI, POPR, on February 24, 1970, which are further detailed in the characterization of MIRA, contained in Section II of the Appendix.

The following characterizations of individuals are arranged alphabetically:

FEDERICO ACEVEDO SANTIAGO

ACEVEDO SANTIAGO was born [REDACTED] at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

[REDACTED] b7C
Supra, on April 7, 1970

ACEVEDO SANTIAGO was a 'vocal' or voting member of the Executive Committee of the Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (Federation of University Students for Independence)(FUPI).

SJ T-9 on
October 21, 1964

On November 19, 1964, ACEVEDO SANTIAGO was elected Secretary of International Affairs for FUPI.

SJ T-10 on
November 21, 1964

ACEVEDO SANTIAGO was one of ten FUPI members who planned to join rebel forces in the Dominican Republic.

67C
SJ 105-12315

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[REDACTED]
OI, POPR, to SA ANDREW C.
GIBSON, May 10, 1965

In May, 1968, FEDERICO ACEVEDO, a FUPI organizer, was in New York City.

SJ T-10 on
May 8, 1968

On October 15, 1969, ACEVEDO SANTIAGO participated in a parade sponsored by FUPI and other independentist student groups in the vicinity of the Rio Piedras Campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The purpose of this demonstration was to demand the removal of ROTC from that campus.

SJ T-12 on
November 3, 1969

Located at [REDACTED] was a letter dated December 28, 1969, in which "GILBERTO" stated he could be contacted on December 29, 1969, between 6 and 8 pm, at telephone number [REDACTED]

Telephone number [REDACTED] is listed to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Puerto Rico Telephone Company,
Puerto Nuevo, Puerto Rico,
on March 5, 1970

Located at Calle Comerio was a letter dated January 25, 1970, in which "HUGO" advised "RUBEN" that "GILBERTO's" name was being changed to "IGNACIO."

Located at Calle Comerio was a letter dated

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 141

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

February 13, 1970, in which "IGNACIO" stated that his daughter was going to have a tonsillectomy.

57C
ACEVEDO SANTIAGO was employed part-time at the UPR library and worked several shifts, some of which extended into the evening hours until approximately 10 pm. He was studying for his Masters Degree in Social Sciences and has two children, [REDACTED]. The daughter was hospitalized for a tonsillectomy during which she contracted a serious infection and the tonsillectomy was not performed. ACEVEDO is married to [REDACTED] and who shares his political views. [REDACTED] is the [REDACTED] of ACEVEDO SANTIAGO.

[REDACTED]
U. S. Customs Inspector,
San Juan, Puerto Rico to
SA GORDON W. MC GINLEY,
March 19, 1970

JUAN ANTONIO CASTILLO AYALA

CASTILLO AYALA is also known as "PAPO" and was born [REDACTED] at Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. He is the son of JOSE MIGUEL CASTILLO VEGA, also known as "TATO," and a nephew of MIGUEL ANGEL CASTILLO VEGA, also known as "PIPO."

[REDACTED]
Supra, March 5, 1970

On November 26, 1964, CASTILLO AYALA was elected President of the Federacion Estudiantil Pro Independencia (Federation of Students for Independence) (FEPI) in Aguada, Puerto Rico.

Records of the OI, POPR, to
SA MERWIN E. MELLOR, on
October 10, 1965

SJ 105-12315

CASTILLO AYALA, his father, and his uncle, MIGUEL, were involved in a plot to place incendiary devices in trucks of the Puerto Rico National Guard in Aguadilla, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1963. This action did not take place because the devices failed to function.

[REDACTED]
OI, POPR, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico, to SA JOHN D. DEVINE, September 25, 1965

CASTILLO AYALA was the President of the Federacion Nacional de Estudiantes Puertorriquenos (National Federation of Puerto Rican Students)(FNEP) in Bayamon, Puerto Rico.

SJ T-13 on
April 17, 1968

FNEP is the youth group of the NPPR.

"FELIPE" was the code name of JUAN ANTONIO CASTILLO AYALA within the Bayamon cell of MIRA.

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON, Former Undercover Agent, OI, POPR, on February 26, 1970

MIGUEL ANGEL CASTILLO VEGA

MIGUEL ANGEL CASTILLO VEGA was born on [REDACTED] at Rincon, Puerto Rico, and is also known as "PIPO."

[REDACTED] Supra
March 5, 1970

On September 22, 1963, MIGUEL CASTILLO VEGA attacked an Agent of the United States Government who was attempting to photograph persons participating in a commemoration of "Grito de Lares."

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SJ 105-12315

SJ T-7 on
September 27, 1963

The above named person of the U. S. Government was later identified as an Agent of the 471st Intelligence Corps, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

As of March, 1964, CASTILLO VEGA was an active member of the MPIPR in Aguada, Puerto Rico.

POPR Information Bulletin,
Number 117, dated
September, 1964

On August 12, 1967, CASTILLO VEGA was among those present at a public meeting of the NPPR in San Sebastian, Puerto Rico. During this meeting, NPPR speakers were heckled by persons in the audience and a disturbance resulted. At this time, CASTILLO VEGA was one of five or six persons present who carried pistols.

SJ T-13 on
August 22, 1967

On November 7, 1969, PIPO CASTILLO was one of several individuals who agitated students near the UPR Campus in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, to enter that campus for a confrontation with the POPR. Also present at this time were his brother, TATO, and his nephew, PAPO.

SJ T-13 on
November 9, 1969

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SJ 105-12315

SANTOS COLON

SANTOS COLON APONTE is the Guayama, Puerto Rico, Zone Secretary of the MPIPR and the "Mis Amores Bar" is occasionally used as a meeting place for the Guayama Mission of the MPIPR.

SJ T-14 on
October 29, 1970

FELIX RAUL CRUZ DIAZ

57C
FELIX RAUL CRUZ DIAZ is also known as "RAUL" and was born on [REDACTED] at Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

[REDACTED] Supra
March 5, 1970

As of July 3, 1969, CRUZ DIAZ was the Treasurer of the Bernardo Vega Mission of the MPIPR in Hato Rey, Puerto Rico.

SJ T-15 on
July 3, 1969

On March 7, 1969, CRUZ DIAZ was arrested by the OE, POPR, and charged with a violation of the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico. Found in his possession at the time of his arrest was a quantity of black powder and instructions as to the manufacturing of incendiary and explosive devices.

[REDACTED] Criminal
Investigations Corps (CIC),
POPR, To SA JOSEPH F. BRENNAN,
on April 25, 1969

Located at Calle Comerio was an undated document in the handwriting of FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, which states "JOAQUIN's" name is RAUL and that his license plate begins with an 8.

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SF 105-12315

"JOAQUIN" is the code name of FELIX RAUL CRUZ DIAZ. CRUZ DIAZ drives a Volkswagen registered in the name of his wife, the license plate of which is [REDACTED] b7C

Captain [REDACTED] Supra
March 7, 1970

CARLOS FELICIANO VASQUEZ

On June 5, 1951, CARLOS FELICIANO was tried in Arecibo, Puerto Rico, District Court, for six counts of violation of Article 218, Penal Code (Intent to Commit Murder) and was sentenced to from six to 14 years on each count.

On the same date, he was also tried on four counts of First Degree Murder and was sentenced to four life sentences each to run consecutively.

On November 13, 1951, FELICIANO VASQUEZ plead guilty to the Commonwealth Subversives Law and was sentenced to from one to five years of hard labor.

The above trials grew out of the subject's participation in the 1950 NPPR revolt.

MIGUEL FRAILE, Warden
Mayaguez District Jail
Mayaguez, Puerto Rico to
SA FRANK S. PERRONI, November 15, 1951

The NPPR uprising in Puerto Rico from October 30, 1950, to November 2, 1950, resulted in the deaths of 16 Nationalists, seven POPR policemen, one member of the P. R. National Guard, and six bystanders, in addition to injuries suffered by 51 other persons. At the same time GRISELIO TORRESOLA and OSCAR COLLAZO unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate former President HARRY S. TRUMAN in Washington, D.C., on November 1, 1950. As a result of this attempt, TORRESOLA and a White

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SJ 105-12315

House guard were killed and two other guards seriously wounded. COLLAZO is now serving a life sentence for murder.

67C
FELICIANO VASQUEZ was to be released from the Commonwealth Penitentiary on December 10, 1954, after completion of his sentence. His conviction of June 5, 1951, had been reversed by the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico.

Captain GERARDO DELGADO
Acting Warden, Commonwealth
Penitentiary, Rio Piedras,
Puerto Rico, by letter to
the FBI, San Juan, on
December 10, 1954

It was reported that FELICIANO VASQUEZ was one of those individuals who had obtained arms, explosives, and incendiary materials worth \$7,000 for the Accion Patriotica Uniparia (United Patriotic Action) (APU).

SJ T-3 on
January 3, 1963

During January, 1970, the subject stated that he was not interested in becoming the President of the New York Junta of the NPPR, adding that he was doing better work for Puerto Rican independence by being outside the NPPR.

SJ T-16 on
January 15, 1970

CARLOS MANUEL FONSECA ORTA

CARLOS FONSECA ORTA is also known as "EL INDIJO" and was born on [REDACTED] at Bayamon, Puerto Rico.

[REDACTED] Supra
March 5, 1970

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

CARLOS FONSECA ORTA was a member of the FNEP in Bayamon, Puerto Rico.

SJ T-13 on
January 16, 1970

"CARLOS" and "FON" were the names by which CARLOS FONSECA was known in the Bayamon cell of MIRA.

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON, Supra
on February 26, 1970

JUAN GALLOZA CARRERO

b7D [REDACTED] JUAN GALLOZA attended a membership meeting of the New York Junta of the NPPR held at its headquarters, 276 Third Avenue, Bronx, New York.

SJ T-2 on
January 25, 1968

JACINTO RIVERA, President of the NPPR, some time in the past, had designated GALLOZA to train persons in the New York City area in sabotage procedures and underground operations. GALLOZA misunderstood his instructions and believed that he was the leader of all underground activities to be conducted by the NPPR.

SJ T-2 on
March 12, 1968

AMELINO GONZALEZ CLAUDIO

b7C
GONZALEZ CLAUDIO was born on [REDACTED] at Vega Baja, Puerto Rico, and attended the UPR.

[REDACTED] UPR, to SA J. CORTES BALL,
on January 11, 1963

SJ 105-12315

As of December, 1964, GONZALEZ CLAUDIO was the Vice President of the FUPI and a member of its Executive Committee.

[REDACTED] OI, POPR
to SA E. J. HARRISON III, ON
February 5, 1965

On November 1, 1967, GONZALEZ CLAUDIO was appointed Secretary of Organization of the New York Mission of the MPIPR. In December, 1967, his activity in the MPIPR suddenly declined because he considered that organization to be insufficiently aggressive in seeking Puerto Rican independence.

SJ T-11 on November 6, 1967
through January 16, 1968

AVELINO GONZALEZ resided at [REDACTED] and was employed as a Clerk in the International Division, Letter of Credit Department, of the Irving Trust Company, 1 Wall Street, New York, New York.

[REDACTED] to
SA ROBERT L. FARMER, on
December 3, 1968

[REDACTED] Supra,
on April 14, 1970

Located at Calle Comerio was a letter dated January 25, 1970, in which "HUGO" advised "RUBEN" that he believed "CARMELO's" address was [REDACTED]

ANTONIO HERRERA MORENO

On March 12, 1967, the NPPR held a General Assembly in Lares, Puerto Rico, to elect a new directorate. HERRERA

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

MORENO was elected Secretary of Foreign Relations.

SJ T-7 on March 13, 1967

HERRERA MORENO is the brother-in-law of MIGUEL ANGEL CASTILLO. JUAN ANTONIO CASTILLO AYALA resided in the home of HERRERA MORENO for several years.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Supra

October 11, 1970

67C
PEDRO ANTONIO JACA LA FONTAINE

PEDRO JACA was born in Arecibo, Puerto Rico, on [REDACTED] and is the son of NPPR member JUAN JACA HERNANDEZ, who was sentenced to 485 years imprisonment for his part in the 1950 NPPR uprising.

Records, OI, POPR,
Arecibo, Puerto Rico, on
July 9, 1964.

PEDRO ANTONIO JACA was active in all independentist activities, including attending meetings of the MPIPR, NPPR, and the Liga Socialista Puertorriquena (Puerto Rican Socialist League) (LSP).

SJ T-3 on
May 27, 1968

PEDRO JACA was the Director of the FEPI at the Escuela Gabriela Mistral, in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

SJ T-17 on
August 27, 1969

PEDRO JACA was the Assistant Youth Secretary of the Jose A. Cedeño Mission of the MPIPR in Caparra Terrace, a suburb of San Juan.

SJ T-18 on September 5, 1969

SJ 105-12315

SATURNINO LABOY MARTINEZ

SATURNINO LABOY is also known as "DON TUNO" and was born on [REDACTED] at Yabucoa, Puerto Rico.

b7c

[REDACTED] Supra
on March 5, 1970

SATURNINO LABOY was the Director of the Supreme Council of the Cruzada Patriótica Cristiana (Patriotic Christian Crusade) (CPC).

"El Imparcial," a Spanish language newspaper published daily at San Juan, Puerto Rico, edition dated April 9, 1960

On September 8, 1963, LABOY took part in a discussion concerning the use of incendiary devices to sabotage sugar cane fields. In January, 1964, he visited Caguas, Puerto Rico, to obtain sabotage materials, however, they were unavailable. He, thereafter, assisted in the preparation of incendiary devices, which he suggested be sent through the mail. In February, 1964, LABOY was instructing a group of people in the sabotage of police cars.

Records of the OI, POPR, to
SA THOMAS P. GARVEY on
June 30, 1964

On June 10, 1965, LABOY and two other individuals charged with violation of the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico, in connection with explosion which exploded at the Ponce Mining Company in Utuado, Puerto Rico, on April 16, 1965, were set free for lack of evidence. Representing the three defendants was JUAN MARI BRAS, Secretary General of the MPIPR.

"The San Juan Star," edition
dated June 11, 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 151

57C
SJ 105-12315

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
On [REDACTED] it was noted that [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SJ T-19 on
July 26, 1967

On [REDACTED] it was stated that Puerto Rican independentists in New York City were [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

SJ T-20 on
February 12, 1968

JOSE NOYA HERRERO

JOSE NOYA HERRERO has been affiliated with the NPPR since 1921, and at one time, was a close associate of its deceased leader, PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS. He estimated he has donated \$17,000 to the NPPR in his life time. He resided at [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Interview of JOSE NOYA HERRERO
by SA's of the FBI on
February 17, 1961

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65-12315

FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS

67C
b7D
FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS was born on [REDACTED] at
Pagan, Puerto Rico.

[REDACTED] Supra
on March 5, 1970

The name FILIBERTO OJEDA, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] appeared on a mailing list.
[REDACTED] on

SJ T-22 on
May 16, 1961

[REDACTED] is a
revolutionary organization founded
and led by [REDACTED]

On December 18, 1961, FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, his
wife [REDACTED] and their three children, sailed from Veracruz,
Mexico, aboard the Cuban vessel "Bahia de Tenamo" enroute
to Havana, Cuba.

SJ T-23 on
December 20, 1961.

In a letter dated [REDACTED], signed
[REDACTED] and directed to [REDACTED] stated
[REDACTED] Comrade FILIBERTO OJEDA is working [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and planning to return to Puerto Rico and to work
[REDACTED] Subsequently, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] and in case it should be decided
[REDACTED] as he is to go back to Puerto Rico, [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Furthermore, he can be quite helpful
[REDACTED] There is no doubt that FILIBERTO would be a very
valuable man [REDACTED]

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34-103-12315

To a letter dated [REDACTED]

advised JUAN MARI BRAS that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS, advised that he was resigning his position as Deputy-Delegate of the MPIPR in Havana, Cuba. OJEDA indicated that he was doing this as a protest to the dismissal of RABELL MARTINEZ as a leader of the MPIPR Mission in Cuba by MARI BRAS. OJEDA stated that he disagreed with the MPIPR decision to remain home during the Plebiscite in Puerto Rico, and stated he backed a speech by RABELL MARTINEZ over radio Havana in which he urged the people of Puerto Rico to take to the streets to combat the Plebiscite force on July 23, 1968.

SJ T-24, on
September 18, 1968

Located at Calle Comercio was a letter dated October 14, 1969, in which "RUBEN" advised "RIOS" that he, RUBEN, had been identified and that the OI, PCPR had interviewed his brother.

In an undated document located at Calle Comercio in the handwriting of OJEDA RIOS, the writer states that when the police interrogated his brother, they asked him if OJEDA RIOS had been a musician in a Cuban band in New York. His brother had replied yes and stated he had not seen him in two years.

"RUBEN" is the code name utilized by FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS within the MIRA organization.

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON
Supra,
December 16, 1969

WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS

WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS was born [REDACTED] at Bayamon, Puerto Rico. In September, 1964, he was the Treasurer of the Bayamon, Puerto Rico, Chapter of FEPI

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SJ 105-12315

and in January, 1965, was the President of FEPI at Augustin Stead High School, Bayamon, Puerto Rico. In July, 1965, he was the Secretary of Education and Arts of the Bayamon MPIPR Youth.

[REDACTED] b7c
March 5, 1970 Supra

In June, 1966, PINTADO BURGOS was attending meetings of the FNEP.

SJ T-7 on
June 3, 1966

b7D
At an MPIPR meeting in Bayamon, [REDACTED] PINTADO BURGOS was named President of FEPI in Bayamon, Puerto Rico. He was an active member of the MPIPR until his expulsion from that organization in October, 1967.

SJ T-25 on February 7, and
October 17, 1967

During the [REDACTED] PINTADO BURGOS [REDACTED] as to the possibility of the PSO and CAL consolidating their forces for the purpose of sabotaging American owned businesses [REDACTED]

SJ T-4 on
[REDACTED]

"PEPITO" is the code name utilized by WILLIAM PINTADO BURGOS as a member of the MIRA cell in Bayamon, Puerto Rico.

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON, Supra
February 26, 1970

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SJ 105-12315

AVELINA RAMIREZ DE FONSECA

b7c
AVELINA RAMIREZ DE FONSECA was born on [REDACTED] at Guanica, Puerto Rico, and is the wife of CARLOS FONSECA ORTA. At the time of her arrest on December 12, 1969, by the POPR, she was an active member of the Bayamon Cell of MIRA.

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON, Supra
February 26, 1970

CESAR RIVERA

On April 13, 1965, MPIPR members MARTA SANCHEZ and CESAR RIVERA visited the Humacao, Puerto Rico, area to raise funds for the MPIPR.

POPR Information Bulletin
#184, April, 1965

Attorney CESAR RIVERA, [REDACTED] Humacao, Puerto Rico, advised that he planned to attend a celebration of the Grito de Lares, at Lares, Puerto Rico, on September 23, 1969.

SJ T-26 on
September 19, 1969

MARTA CRISTIANA SANCHEZ OLMEDA

MARTA SANCHEZ was born [REDACTED] at Patillas, Puerto Rico, and has been active on the behalf of Puerto Rican pro-independence groups for many years and in the early 1960s, travelled to Communist China and other Communist controlled countries to gain their support for the movement. She has consistently supported the position of FIDEL CASTRO, and adopted an anti-American attitude in her public statements. She was arrested by the POPR on June 13, 1966, on a charge of Breach of Peace after she was identified as being the principle agitator among a group of MPIPR members voicing their support

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SJ-105-12315

of the Cuban delegation to the 10th Caribbean and Central American Games, which were held in San Juan in June, 1966. On August 12, 1968, SANCHEZ was arrested by the POPR for her involvement in student disturbances at the UPR in September, 1967.

b7C

[REDACTED]
on April 5, 1970

Supra

MARTA SANCHEZ and two other representatives of the MPIPR planned to depart for Havana, Cuba, from Puerto Rico, on June 10, 1967, to attend a conference of Latin American Youth. SANCHEZ was to represent the Feminine Action Committee of the MPIPR.

SJ T-27 on
May 3, 1967

In February, 1968, SANCHEZ was a constant companion of JUAN MARI BRAS and while in New York City at that time, they were believed to be romantically linked.

SJ T-28, on
February 27, 1968

The body of JOSE VARONA, also known as "FEFEL," an MPIPR member who allegedly died as the result of wounds suffered in North Vietnam during a raid by United States bombers, arrived at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York, New York, on March 31, 1968. MARTA SANCHEZ accompanied the body of VARONA in its shipment from New York City to Puerto Rico.

SJ T-29 on
April 1, 1968

During November, 1968, members of the MPIPR mission in New York advised that MARTA SANCHEZ was pregnant [REDACTED]

b7C
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SJ 105-12315

SJ T-30 on
November 7, 1968

[REDACTED]

b1

SJ T-31 on
March 3, 1970

SANCHEZ resides at [REDACTED]

OI, POPR, to SA ROBERT M. MINITER,
on May 27, 1969

In a document located at [REDACTED]
entitled "Report on Organizations" which is signed "ANA,"
the writer stated that she accompanied the body of "FEFEL"
to Puerto Rico.

JOSE A. SERRANO LOPEZ

On March 2, 1963, JOSE A. SERRANO LOPEZ was elected
Secretary of the Male Youth Committee of the Ponce Mission of
the MPIPR.

Records of the OI, POPR,
as reviewed on March 2, 1963

ROBERTO JOSE TODD PAGAN

ROBERTO TODD, also known as "TITO," was born on
[REDACTED] at Santurce, Puerto Rico.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

March 5, 1970

Supra

SJ 105-12315

TODD was the Graphic Arts Secretary of the Rafael Cordero Mission of the MPIPR.

~~SJ T-10 on November 23, 1965~~

"Organizacion Continental Latinamericano de Estudiantes" (Continental Organization of Latin-American Students) (OCLAE) numbers 9 and 10 (combined issue) for September and October, 1967, on page 30, contained a photograph of ROBERTO TODD with a caption indicating that he represented the Permanent Secretariate of OCLAE in Havana, Cuba, and was also a FUPI member in Puerto Rico.

SJ T-30 on
January 12, 1968

OCLAE is an organization of Latin American students with headquarters located in Havana, Cuba.

TODD was expected to arrive in Hanoi, North Vietnam, during May, 1967.

"Carta Semanal" #304
April 26, 1967

"Carta Semanal" is an official weekly letter from MPIPR headquarters to officials of branch missions.

TODD had recently returned from Cuba to Puerto Rico, where he was the FUPI representative to OCLAE.

SJ T-12 on
October 25, 1967

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SJ 103-12313

A letter located at [REDACTED] from JUAN
MIGUEL CASTELLO AYALA written before December 30, 1969,
to "DIEGO" states "You can communicate using the name
DIEGO or MOISES."

"HUGO" and "DIEGO" were code names used by
ROBERTO TODD PAGAN within the MIRA organization.

RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON, Supra
February 26, 1970

JUAN TORRES ALONSO

JUAN TORRES ALONSO is the son of JUAN TORRES
MIGARRY, Mayor of Guayanilla, Puerto Rico, and he is a
member of the Guayanilla Mission of the MPIPR.

SJ T-32 on
August 29, 1968

FERDINAND TORRES TORRES

FERDINAND TORRES TORRES was born [REDACTED]
at Utuado, Puerto Rico, and from 1953 to 1960, resided in
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

ROSALINA SANTANA, Registrar,
UPR, to SA ANDREW C. GIBSON,
March 19, 1965

The name of FERDINAND TORRES TORRES appeared in
a list of candidates nominated to the Executive Committee
of PUPI at its 9th Annual Congress held in Rio Piedras, Puerto
Rico, on November 18-19, 1964.

SJ T-9 on
November 25, 1964

Among documents located at Calle Comerio was one
dated November 16, 1966, in the name of U. S. Marine Corps,

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SJ 105-12315

First Infantry Training Battalion, 1st ITR, MCB, Camp
Lejeune, North Carolina, which appointed FERDINAND TORRES
TORRES, [REDACTED] as Private First Class.

b7C

[REDACTED] Supra
February 24, 1970

GLADYS TORRES

GLADYS JIMENEZ DE TORRES is the wife of FERDINAND
TORRES TORRES and was only a member of MIRA due to her hus-
band's affiliation with that organization.

SJ T-1 on
December 17, 1970

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B. Section II

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka
Black Panther Party for Self
 Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," published by the BPP describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," and states that the BPP advocates the use of "armed revolutionary tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from the American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-Tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

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APPENDIX

COMANDOS ARMADOS DE LIBERACION
(ARMED COMMANDOS OF LIBERATION)
(CAL)

On February 24, 1968, Associated Press (AP), San Juan, Puerto Rico, received a letter captioned "Communique Number One" and signed "Comandos Armados de Liberacion, CAL" (Armed Commandos of Liberation). The letter declares the intent of CAL to force the "Yankee Invader" to abandon Puerto Rico and goes on to announce among other things that in two places CAL "has destroyed" the Aguadilla-Ramey pipe-line. On February 22, 1968, two explosive devices, one detonated, the other intact, had been discovered on or near the pipe-line used to transport aircraft fuel to Ramey Air Force Base, Aguadilla, Puerto Rico.

On September 26, 1968, a confidential source furnished a pamphlet distributed on September 23, 1968, captioned "Independence or Death - Manifesto to the Puerto Rican Nation - Armed Commandos of Liberation." It summarizes the goals of CAL and its accomplishments during its first year of existence. It expresses satisfaction with the "first phases of our operations" including the attack and destruction of American establishments and goes on to specifically name a number of American establishments attacked or destroyed.

On May 15, 1969, two bombs exploded at a U.S. Naval Station Housing area, San Juan, Puerto Rico. On May 27, 1969, United Press International (UPI), San Juan, furnished a letter received in the mail from CAL headed "Communique Number Ten" dated May 16, 1969, in which CAL claimed credit for this attack. In this letter, CAL called attention of the Press to the fact that its "Communique's could always be identified because invariably we use the same typewriter..."

On November 23, 1969, another confidential source furnished a pamphlet distributed that date in San Juan which carried the statement at the bottom "Clandestinely printed by Armed Commandos of Liberation." This bulletin, "repeats" the promise that "for each Puerto Rican jailed for refusing to serve in the armed forces of the United States, we shall execute one yankee." The remainder of the contents includes detailed instructions on conducting a revolution.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Laboratory examinations of the CAL communications mentioned above and many others have established that a number of them have been prepared on the same typewriter. The writer of these letters has not been identified nor has any leader-member been identified.

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The CPC was organized in April, 1953, at Cidra, Puerto Rico, under the guidance of VICTORIANO MARGARITO SANTIAGO ARCE, a Roman Catholic priest. The CPC is in no way sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church and has been publicly disclaimed as a Church entity by members of the Church hierarchy in Puerto Rico.

During a December 2, 1965, interview by U. S. Secret Service Agents, SANTIAGO said that he is the leader of the CPC and that Puerto Rican independence is the CPC primary goal. He also said that he does not advocate violence in obtaining independence, except as a last recourse. He continued that for the time being the CPC was devoting itself to educating Puerto Ricans to their exploitation by the U. S.

In January, 1966, SANTIAGO petitioned the Vatican to be released from his priestly duties and reverted to a lay status within the Church. He was placed on leave of absence and laicized immediately by Bishop MENDEZ, of Arecibo, Puerto Rico, pending official Vatican confirmation. In an interview on January 21, 1966, published by "The San Juan Star", an English-language daily newspaper published in San Juan, Puerto Rico, SANTIAGO stated that he expects to devote more time to political matters once his retirement from the priesthood becomes final.

On July 14, 1965, a source advised that the CPC was defunct and had been inactive in recent months. He estimated CPC membership as not more than ten persons, with perhaps twenty to thirty sympathizers.

On May 5, 1967, a source advised that the CPC is defunct. He said that CPC maximum leader SANTIAGO has been publicly identified with another pro-independence organization for many months, as have his few remaining cohorts in the Quebradillas, Puerto Rico, area. OI, POPR records show no CPC meetings during the past year.

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APPENDIX

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FEDERACION ESTUDIANTIL PRO-INDEPENDENCIA
(FEDERATION OF STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE) (FEPI)

On May 14, 1968, a confidential source advised that the FEPI was organized in May, 1963, under the guidance and direction of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) (MPIPR), a militant CASTRO Cuba-oriented independence-seeking group in Puerto Rico and the Federacion de Universitarios Pro-Independencia (Federation of University Students for Independence) (FUPI), the MPIPR affiliated group on the university level.

According to the source, the FEPI's primary purpose and objective since being organized is to indoctrinate the high school youth of Puerto Rico with the political thinking of the leadership of the MPIPR and FUPI and to recruit future membership for these organizations. The FEPI attempts to indoctrinate the pre-university level students in such a way that their only desire is in obtaining independence for Puerto Rico. The FEPI seeks: to exterminate all vestiges of United States "intervention" in Puerto Rico, to join with other Puerto Rican independence-seeking groups in their cause, to protest against compulsory military service for Puerto Rican youths and the condemnation of the United States for any intervention in the affairs of other countries in the world.

According to the source, the FEPI, with a current estimated membership of 160 members, is a menace to the high school system in Puerto Rico, as it seeks to ridicule, criticize and reject the educational norms established by the Puerto Rico Department of Public Education. The FEPI in the past has attempted to interrupt by any method, including violence, the methods of teaching in the school in Puerto Rico. The FEPI distributes propaganda in the schools and takes part in pickets and demonstrations organized by the MPIPR and FUPI.

Since its conception in 1963, the leaders of the MPIPR and FUPI have continuously counselled, directed and organized the FEPI and its activities.

Characterizations of the MPIPR
and FUPI are attached hereto.

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These documents are part of the project "The FBI Files on Puerto Ricans" and are available free of charge at <http://www.pr-secrefiles.net/>.

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APPENDIX

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FEDERACION DE UNIVERSITARIOS PRO-INDEPENDENCIA
(FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS FOR INDEPENDENCE) (FUPI)

The FUPI was organized in October, 1956, at the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, as a student organization working to obtain independence for Puerto Rico.

In the "General Statement" adopted at the 14th Annual FUPI Congress, which was held at Rio Piedras on November 18 - 20, 1969, and dedicated to HO CHI MINH, the deceased political and ideological leader of North Vietnam, FUPI declared that the common enemy of all countries is Yankee imperialism; proclaimed that the final victory - on a universal scale - against imperialism can only be achieved with the united struggle of all the oppressed in the world and that the spinal chord of that struggle is the armed people; greeted and expressed their solidarity with the "heroic Vietnamese people, vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle"; greeted and expressed their solidarity with the comrades who await trial for refusing to join the American army and with the university students who will be tried after the radical struggle against the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC); and resolved to continue supporting and strengthening the Organizacion Continental Latinoamericana de Estudiantes (Continental Organization of Latin American Students) (OCLAE) because it is the only student organization on a continental level which is giving moral and material support to the Latin American revolutionary.

OCLAE is an organization of Latin American students with headquarters located in Havana, Cuba.

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APPENDIX

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GRITO DE LARES
SEPTEMBER 23, 1868

The Partido Nacionalista Puertorriqueno (Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico) (NPPR) celebrates this date as the anniversary of the brief rebellion at Lares, Puerto Rico, against the Spanish regime, staged by a group of Puerto Rican revolutionaries. On this date, the Puerto Rico group established momentary control in the mountain town of Lares and proclaimed the Republic of Puerto Rico. This date has a special significance for the NPPR inasmuch as the main thesis of NPPR doctrine is the claim that Puerto Rican sovereignty was actually established on September 23, 1868, with the rebellion at Lares. The large NPPR celebration on September 23rd of each year is concentrated at Lares.

The NPPR has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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LIGA SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUENA
(PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE)
(LSP)

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On January 13, 1964, a source advised that the LSP was formed in early January, 1964, by JUAN ANTONIO CORRETJER, who had resigned a leadership position in another Puerto Rican Marxist organization in October, 1963. It was CORRETJER's desire to have his own organization with the members completely indoctrinated in the theories of Marxism-Leninism. The ultimate objective of the LSP is the establishment of an independent socialist Puerto Rico.

Records of the Office of Intelligence, Police of Puerto Rico (OI, POPR) reveal that in early 1970 active membership of the LSP was approximately 17, most of whom are in the San Juan area with a few in Ponce, Puerto Rico. The LSP has a small group of sympathizers in New York City also.

The LSP has two main publications, "Correo de la Quincena" (CDLQ) and "El Socialista."

The September 24, 1966, edition of "El Mundo," Spanish language daily newspaper published at San Juan, Puerto Rico, carried an article reporting that in a speech the previous day, CORRETJER had urged Puerto Rican youth to resist obligatory military service by gunfire.

In October, 1969, the POPR arrested 15 members of the LSP, including CORRETJER on charges involving various violations of the firearms laws of Puerto Rico.

In the period preceding May 1, 1970, the LSP circulated a mimeograph leaflet in the vicinity of the University of Puerto Rico (UPR), Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, captioned, "First of May." Referring to the LSP as a Marxist-Leninist organization, the leaflet dedicates certain of the organization's activities to the "immortal memory of Vladimiro Ilich Lenin... on the first centennial of his birth," and goes on to say, "guided by the thinking of Mao Tse-tung which is Marxist at a time when Imperialism is in defeat and Socialism is triumphing on a world-wide scale, the Socialist League of Puerto Rico unfolds the red proletarian flag in Lares in reaffirmation of its unbreakable revolutionary faith in workers everywhere, and calls on the working class of Puerto Rico to unite under its flag for the great conquest for independence and Socialism."

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APPENDIX

MOVIMIENTO PRO-INDEPENDENCIA DE PUERTO RICO
(PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MPIPR)

The MPIPR was organized in November, 1969, in Ponce, Puerto Rico. It has a current membership of about 700-800 persons with several thousand sympathizers. The MPIPR is organized in missions which are located in various towns throughout Puerto Rico. There are also members and sympathizers in the continental United States. The MPIPR National Headquarters is located at 1122 Ponce de Leon Avenue, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

At the time the MPIPR was organized, it indicated that it did not advocate violence but would accept members who did. JUAN MARI BRAS, the founder and dominant leader of the organization, in a speech in 1964, threatened violence comparable to that in Algeria, 1964, if Puerto Rico became a state within the United States.

MARI BRAS, in an editorial appearing in March 15, 1970, issue of "Claridad," the MPIPR newspaper, stated that "in Puerto Rico there is an incipient armed struggle on the part of pro-independence individuals who consider it their patriotic duty to conduct warfare against the empire which dominates us. We believe that every Puerto Rican has the right to make war against the invaders of our country. And war is mainly killing and dying."

The press of Puerto Rico has reported that the MPIPR has held numerous public meetings and demonstrations at which they protested compulsory military service for Puerto Ricans and United States policy in Vietnam. The MPIPR has further urged the boycott of elections in Puerto Rico.

On April 21, 1970, during the course of a program on WTSJ Television in San Juan, Puerto Rico, MARI BRAS stated that the MPIPR has innumerable contacts with revolutionary organizations in South America, Canada, Cuba, Europe, Africa and in Asia. Through 1969, the MPIPR had a permanent representative stationed in Havana, Cuba.

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MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA REVOLUCIONARIO EN ARMAS
(ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT) (MIRA)

On January 8, 1970, [REDACTED] Office of Intelligence, Police of Puerto Rico (OI, POPR), advised that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] MARCISO RABELL MARTINEZ and ROBERTO TODD PAGAN assumed leadership of the organization. At that time, the PSO was a recently organized self-described Marxist-Leninist organization in Puerto Rico openly advocating the use of violence to achieve independence for Puerto Rico. RABELL organized within the PSO a clandestine group which was to dedicate itself to the destruction of United States-owned enterprises by sabotage and which was to be known as the Movimiento Independencia Rebelde Armado (Armed Rebel Independence Movement) (MIRA). RABELL stated that the operation was Cuban directed and that MIRA initials were designated by Cuba.

On December 4, 1968, a confidential source furnished substantially the same information as that above. In January, 1969, the source provided a copy of a sabotage manual used by RABELL in training MIRA members, which manual was utilized by RABELL according to his own statement while undergoing sabotage training in Cuba.

On December 11, 1969, explosions occurred in six United States-owned business establishments in the San Juan, Puerto Rico, area causing considerable damage. On December 12, 1969, in connection with these bombings the OI, POPR arrested four MIRA members for violation of the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico and secured warrants for ROBERTO TODD PAGAN and FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS on the same charges. The arrests were based on information supplied by RAFAEL NIEVES NEGRON, OI, POPR, who served as an undercover agent in the MIRA organization for OI, POPR. NIEVES NEGRON has advised that MIRA, now known as Movimiento Independentista Revolucionario en Armas (Armed Revolutionary Independence Movement) (MIRA) is led by ROBERTO TODD PAGAN and FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS. He explained that the present MIRA organization is the same as that originally organized in the PSO and that FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS is a Cuban trained sabotage agent who gave instructions in sabotage to MIRA members.

On February 24, 1970, the OI, POPR conducted raids at two locations in the San Juan area in an unsuccessful attempt to apprehend TODD and OJEDA. They seized an abundance of weapons, material much of which was specifically identified with TODD and OJEDA and with the MIRA organization. Among the documents seized was a carbon copy of a sabotage manual which upon comparison appeared to be identical to the manual utilized by RABELL.

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PARTIDO INDEPENDENTISTA PUERTORRIQUEÑO
(INDEPENDENCE PARTY OF PUERTO RICO) (PIP)

The PIP was founded in 1963, and has been active since 1963. The party first took part in the elections of 1960. It failed to poll the required five percent of the total vote cast in the elections of 1960. The PIP was placed on the ballot by legislative edict for the 1964 elections, but again failed to poll the required number of votes. After being placed on the 1968 ballot by fulfilling all legal requirements for recognition as a political party by petition, the PIP received less than three percent of the total vote cast, again losing its status as a registered party.

On March 10, 1970, Mrs. ROSITA M. CORDOVA, Secretary to the Superintendent, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Elections Board, advised that at the January 23, 1970, meeting of the Elections Board, the PIP was certified as a legally constituted political party in Puerto Rico by reason of petition.

The January 26, 1970, edition of "The San Juan Star," an English language daily newspaper published at San Juan, Puerto Rico, reported that during his speech, addressing the members of the PIP, RUBEN BERRIOS MARTINEZ pledged himself to a non-violent political posture, with "Christian socialism" and "peaceful resistance" as principal tactics. In an interview, BERRIOS placed special significance on the inclusion of other means of gaining independence in addition to going to the polls, such as more active participation in protests, marches, pickets and boycotts.

The February 24, 1970, edition of "The San Juan Star," reports that BERRIOS stated that "The only way to solve . . . the problem of military occupation in Puerto Rico is to achieve our independence as a nation."

The April 17, 1970, edition of "El Mundo," a Spanish language daily newspaper published at San Juan, Puerto Rico, contains parts of a speech given by BERRIOS wherein he says that the members of his organization are to intensify the struggle against the regime, but that violence was ruled out for his party. He added that it was more profitable for their cause "to let the invaders break the heads of those opposing their oppression than to fight them face to face." "Some day," he stated, "the lackeys of Yankee imperialism will go too far and there will be innocent victims and blood will run."

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APPENDIX

PARTIDO SOCIALISTA OBRERO
(SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY)
(PSO)

On April 30, 1968, a confidential source furnished a printed document announcing the creation of "Partido Socialista Obrero" and calling upon the youth of Puerto Rico to defeat imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism, and develop a new society under the flag of Marxist-Leninist Socialism. The document states PSO will respond violently in the defense of life and country against the oppression of the FBI, CIA and Colonial Police. The document is signed by a group of individuals with WILSON CORTES BURGOS identified as Secretary General of the organization.

In December, 1968, the same source reported that NARCISO RABELL MARTINEZ, known to him as the former representative in Havana, Cuba, of a prominent independence organization in Puerto Rico, and ROBERTO TODD PAGAN, had become very active in PSO and were in the process of organizing a sub-group Movimiento Independencia Rebelde Armado (MIRA) within the PSO that would be responsible for the sabotage activities of PSO. RABELL with the concurrence of WILSON CORTES BURGOS announced that the goal of PSO will be to attack by means of bombing and incendiaries American-owned businesses, National Guard Armories, and military installations.

On April 29, 1969, Office of Intelligence, Police of Puerto Rico, advised that nine PSO members were arrested for violating the Explosives Law of Puerto Rico. Those arrested included PSO leaders WILSON CORTES BURGOS, NARCISO RABELL, and ROBERTO JOSE TODD PAGAN. Trial of the arrested PSO members is scheduled for May, 1970, at Superior Court, Aguadilla, Puerto Rico.

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APPENDIX

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PLEBISCITE

The plebiscite mentioned herein refers to the balloting in Puerto Rico on July 23, 1967. The voters, with alternatives of statehood, independence, or commonwealth status, voted for a continuation of the present status of Puerto Rico as a commonwealth.

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APPENDIX

YOUNG LORDS PARTY

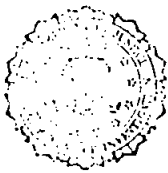
In an article appearing in "The New York Times," December 30, 1969, page 30, PABLO GUZMAN, also known as Yoruba, then Deputy Minister of Information for the Young Lords Organization (YLO) in New York, stated the YLO was composed of revolutionaries, was one with the Cuban revolution, desired a socialist society, and independence for Puerto Rico.

According to a source, YORUBA spoke at C. W. Post College, Greenvale, New York, on March 5, 1970. In the speech, YORUBA delivered a scathing attack on the "whites" and declared that "from now on" the black and Puerto Rican brothers will unite against "the whites." He planned an organized campaign of violence and singled out Jews and white liberals as the main enemy "of our people."

A second source advised that the YLO is composed mostly of Puerto Rican youths and originated as an organization at Chicago, Illinois. The YLO is based on the philosophy of MAO TSE-TUNG and HO CHI-MINH, with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

The Young Lords Party (YLP), according to a statement read over its radio program, "Palante," on WBAI-TV on May 25, 1970, declared itself autonomous from the YLO National in Chicago, with a National Headquarters located at 1678 Madison Avenue, New York, New York. According to this statement, the YLO in New York was first formed in July, 1969, as the New York State Chapter of the YLO and subsequently received a degree of autonomy as the YLO-East Coast Region. The split was attributed to a lack of political leadership on the part of the YLO National in Chicago.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Juan, Puerto Rico

FEB 9 1971

MOVIMIENTO INDEPENDENTISTA REVOLUCIONARIO 11-11-68
(ARMED REVOLUTIONARY INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT)
(MIRA)

Reference is made to San Juan report of Special Agent ROBERT J. HEIBEL, dated and captioned as above.

All sources whose identities are concealed in referenced report have furnished reliable information in the past.

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